

THE
RIGHT FOUNDATION
OF
MORALITY, AND CONSCIENCE
IN
TWO PRACTICAL DISCOURSES

- THE FIRST
1. The folly of a false conscience.
2. The stability of a good conscience.
3. The necessity of a true conscience.
4. The practice of the Christian.

By Clement B. A. M. Rector of
St. Andrew's Church,
Author of the Guide to the
Sinner.

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Printed for J. B. Baker, at the
Museum, in St. Paul's Church-yard.
MDCCCXXXV.

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To his Grace

HENRY L^d Duke of Newcastle,

Lord Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, and Privy-
Counsellor to His most Sacred Majesty.

May it Please your Grace,



Without any Apology, either for my weakness, too apparent in this Performance, or for my boldness in the Dedication; I here in all humility beseech your Grace to accept of this very slender Present; tho' it can signifie no more, but only this, that I acknowledge a duty incumbent upon me, and (tho' I shall never be able to make full payment) I am very desirous to do all that I can towards the discharging of it.

In these little things which I have the confidence to call Two seasonable Discourses, I have endeavour'd to do some part of that great Duty, which I owe both to God

The Epistle Dedicatory.

and the King, both to Church and State, and particularly, to that Congregation wherein, under your Grace's noble Patronage, I am set to exercise the Ministry committed to me.

It cannot therefore, I hope, look like a Presumption, to give your Grace this account, how your Tenants are instructed by me in their great Duties of Religion and Loyalty. And if in that which is here humbly offered to your Grace's eye, any Satisfaction be given in that particular, I must account it reason enough why I thus expose my Infirmities to the view and Censure of the World; and also why I despair not of a Pardon, if it make so bold with your Grace, as to tell the World, wherever it comes, that it is but the smallest part of that great Debt and Duty which is owing by

My Lord,

Your Grace's most Humble

and Obedient Servant,

Cl. Elk.

The FOLLY
OF
MAN'S DEVICES,
AND
STABILITY
OF
GOD'S COUNSEL:
A
Seasonable Discourse
ON
Prov. XIX, 21.

There are many devices in a Man's heart; nevertheless the Counsel of the Lord, that shall stand.

Much of the Wisdom of the ancient Heathens hath been conveyed to after Ages in *Proverbs*. And these were in so high esteem with the learned'st of them, that even their gravest *Philosophers* thought them some strength to their Arguments, and their most Eloquent *Orators* no little ornament to their

popular harangues: yea, in so great Veneration were they had with the generality of Mankind, that they thought fit to father them on their Gods themselves, and to signifie this, caused them to be written over the doors of their Idol-Temples, to the end that they might be the more universally learnt, and religiously regarded by men. What a price then may we justly set on these *Proverbs of Solomon*, whose rare *Wisdom* for its singular eminency is its self become Proverbial? If their *Antiquity* may serve to enhance their value, they are above four hundred years older than those which derive from the so much famed *Wise Men of Greece*. If their *Form* be regardable, they are short, close and pithy Sentences, comprizing a great deal of most sacred truth and necessary instruction in the fewest words, apt by the acuteness and smartness of the expression to imprint the sense more deeply in the Mind, and both by that and also their conciseness and brevity, mightily befriending the Memory. Like the most precious *Jewels*, they are neither great nor burdensome, easily portable and of inestimable worth. Or like *Chymical Spirits*, the least drop whereof is of a very diffusive Vertue and strong Operation, such is their Universal use, that we cannot miss amongst them the most excellent Rules of Duty both to God and Man, suited to all Relations in Family or Kingdom, to all conditions of high and low, rich and poor, to both Sexes and all Ages. Lastly, they are truly such, as deserve, not only to be written in Golden Letters on the Walls of our Churches, but to be indelibly engraved on the Tables of our Hearts, as the Sacred Oracles of the Living God, teaching us that only true *Wisdom* that is from above, which as St. James telleth us, is first pure, then peaceable, Jam. 3, 17. Even that

Wisdom

Wisdom whereby we are taught (as here in the Text) to attend to *God's Counsel* and to lay aside our own devices; the best way of honouring our Father which is in Heaven, and maintaining Peace among our selves who are *Brethren* upon Earth.

This *Proverb* is made up of two *Propositions*, joyned (or severed rather) with this adversative Particle, *nevertheless*, signifying unto us thus much, that tho the former of these two Propositions contain a certain truth which well deserveth our serious consideration, yet the consideration hereof will do us no good, but only increase our trouble, by discovering unto us our weakness and folly, if we do not firmly believe, and finally acquiesce in that much more weighty truth which is taught us in the latter. This we shall the better understand by observing, *First*, The two *Subjects* of these two Propositions; and, *Secondly*, What things are affirmed of these two Subjects.

1. The two *Subjects* are, in the former Proposition *Man*, in the latter, the *Lord*.

1. The Subject of the former is *Man*, a poor, weak, mortal creature, groaning out a few troublesome dayes on Earth, under the afflicting sense of infirmities and wants; hastening every moment towards Death and Corruption. Who cannot well tell himself what he is, or whence he came, or whither he must go: and who knows himself by nothing so well, as by a feeling of his own manifold imperfections. He is the work of another, in the hands and at the sole disposal of another, on whom he totally depends for his life, motion and being. The History of his Life and Death *Job* hath left us in a few words, *Job. 14. 1, 2. Man that is born of a Woman is of few dayes, and full of trouble. He cometh*

up like a flower, and is cut down; he fleeth also as a shadow and continueth not. Would we know the very best of him that is to be known? This is it, *Verily, every man at his best state is altogether vanity.* Psal. 39. 5. How vain must be the devices of his heart, who is himself at best but vanity?

2. The Subject of the second Proposition is the Lord; the most Great and Incomprehensible Glorious God, the Eternal and Inexhaustible Spring of Being and Blessedness; the Independent, Self-sufficient, infinitely great, wise, and good Creator, Preserver, and Governor of us and all the World: without whom nothing ever was, is or can be; *In whom we live and move and have our being,* Act. 17, 28. *Who giveth to all, Life and Breath and all things,* V. 25. The unexpressible, unconceivable, *I AM that I AM,* Exod. 3, 14. *The Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end,* Rev. 21, 6. *All in All,* 1 Cor. 15. 28. *Above all, through all, and in all,* Eph. 4. 6. *Of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things: to whom be glory for ever.* Amen. Rom. 11. 36.

2. Seeing now these two are of such widely distant natures, we must needs expect that very different things should be affirmed of them, as here indeed we find.

1. Of Man it is said, that *there are devices in his heart.* He is always full of Thoughts and Imaginations, Considerations and Consultations, Projects, Plottings, and Contrivances; thinking what may be, designing what he would have to be, studying how to effect it: as one that is yet at a loss and unresolved, and knows not well what to do with himself, or for himself. He is not what he would be, nor where he would be, nor as he would be; and thinks much with himself, how to mend himself; but knows not which

which way is best to go about it. His thoughts are very often nothing else but the wild and extravagant roavings of a rambling *Phantasie*, and at best but the uncertain and unsatisfactory reasonings of a very dim-sighted and fallible *Judgment*. But on the other hand, vastly opposite to these devices, here is attributed to the *Lords Counsel*, the certain result and determination of an infinite and infallible *Wisdom*.

2. Of *Man* is again said, That the devices of his heart are *many*, signifying not only their number or multitude, but also their great variety and confusion. They are numerous and multiform, and disorderly; seldom the same an hour together, rarely well digested or methodized, hardly ever unblended, but a very Miscellany of he knows not what. Many things a man thinks upon, many thoughts he hath of every one of those many things, and all these often very tumultuously clashing against and jostling out one another. He thinks, and is vexed at his own thoughts and *wish* them; he deviseth, and unravelleth presently his own devices; he deliberates and disputes, as he now thinks very wisely with himself; and in a moment is grown too wise for himself, calls himself fool, answereth and confuteeth all his own Arguments, yet can draw to no Conclusion. He concludes, resolves, chooseth, and applauds his own choice; saith to himself, well and wisely done; yet immediately undoeth all again, and he counteth it his wisdom to break his resolution. But in opposition to all this in man, of the *Lord* it is here implied, that his Will and *Counsel* is but *one* and certain, like *himself*, the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever, stable, fixed and immutable.

3. Of *Man* (tho it be not expressly said in words) it is to make good the *Antithesis*, necessarily implied, that

that all his devices are *ineffectual*, or very rarely effect and bring to pass the thing that he would have; at least of themselves they cannot do it, but are vain. In this sense it will be truly said, *Man walketh in a vain shew, surely they are disquieted in vain*, Psal. 39, 6. After much and busie contriving, after great, solicitous and tedious studying, nothing is got, the Mountain is delivered of a Mouse, disappointment and vexation is the issue of his Travels. As his playfom *Phantasy* in a *Dream* is always wantonly frisking and skipping from one thing to another, and in imagination hath every thing to the full that it would have, feasts it self with its own sportings, and is pleased: yet anon the man awakes and is empty, finds that all was nothing but a foolish dream, and either he is vexed at his imaginary loss, or laughs at his own folly: so the *devices of mans heart*, seem they never so wise and sure, are usually all frustrated in a moment; and it is well, if they leave so much good behind to pay for all, as a true and humbling sense of the devisers folly. But now of the *Lord*, it is expressly said that his *Counsel shall stand*, it is always to the purpose, and never mislieth of effecting what was designed, but shall be fully accomplished. *The remnant of Judah shall know whose word shall stand* (or be fulfilled) *mine or theirs.* Jer. 4, 4. 28. *My word shall surely stand against you for evil*, v. 29. 12. The evil that I have determined and foretold you of, shall surely come upon you. This is it, for *God's Counsel to stand*. Be the devices of mans heart never so many, and ordered with all the wisdom, policy and strength, that humane nature is capable of, whatsoever confidence the Authors of such devices may have in their own wit and prudence, *nevertheless the Counsel of the Lord shall still take place of all, and shall stand in* spite

spite of all, when they have done both their best and worst. And though what men design may come to pass; even then, when they are become Masters of their wishes, and are apt on that account to glory in their wisdom, yet doth it not alwayes follow their devices, as the effect doth the proper cause of it, but by the disposal of the Divine Counsel, for *that*, and *that* alone standeth and *shall stand*, and can never be defeated.

The plain sense and meaning of this *Proverb* being thus laid open before us, we may very easily discern the scope and drift of it to be this, *viz.* To make us sensible of the folly and vanity of mens arrogance, in setting up for themselves in the world, without a due regard to the all-disposing *providence* of the Almighty *God*; in going about to make their own Fortunes by their own skill and industry, without a due respect to the *Will* and directions of the universal *Governor* of the World. That being convinced hereof, we may not trust to, or depend upon the wisdom of men, whether of our selves or other men, how much soever they pretend, or are thought to be the great Masters of State-policy; but submitting our selves intirely to the *Will* and *Counsel* of the *Lord*, we may be solely directed by it, totally relye upon it, and heartily acquiesce in it: verily believing and confessing, that all the world is governed by it; and that therefore all the Affairs thereof are by it most wisely ordered, so as shall in the end appear to have been most for his own honour, and the eternal good of those that faithfully serve him. This is a *Lesson* which *Nature* it self teacheth us, and all men are forced to acknowledg the truth of it, when they are at leisure to attend to reason. *Man purposeth, but God disposeth*, hath been long a common Proverb in the

the world. *The Lot, (saith Solomon) is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.* Prov. 16, 33. He doth not only foresee, but wisely order the things and events which to us seem most casual, Yea, so effectually doth he order them, that it would be labour lost, for all the men in the world, to undertake the ordering of them otherwise. *There is no Wisdom, nor Understanding, nor Counsel against the Lord. The Horse is prepared against the day of battle, but safety is of the Lord,* Prov. 21. 30, 31.

This is a very seasonable Lesson for all men to learn in this Projecting, Plotting, and Designing Age, and part of the world wherein we live. Now that men seem grown up to that prodigious insolence and pride, as to quarrel with even *God* himself about his Government, to find faults in his works; every one would fain seem wise enough to be the modeller of a better form of *Government* both in *Church* and *State*, then the wisdom of former Ages hath been acquainted with; and nothing will satisfie men but a world of their own making, and the reputation of some new invention, tho it be a *Babel* of confusion. Indeed men that would seem wise above their neighbours, go alwayes big with some *new nothing*, and are very ambitiously bent upon undoing what hath been done; their chief faculty lyeth in destroying and demolishing all the Monuments of ancient wisdom, that nothing may remain in the eye of Posterity, but mere rubbish. And who then will not be proud of any thing, when they know of nothing better? It hath been for many years too visible that our new *devisers* seem agreed in nothing more than in contriving mischief and ruine, and like *Samson's* Foxes, tho their faces look to contrary quarters of the World, yet they joyn together by the tails, and therein carry

Fire-

Firebrands to burn down the standing Corn and Vineyard of *God*. And such will be the mischievous devices of mans heart, whilst it is not wholly subjected to the Counsel of the *Lord*.

Before we come to the particular doctrines of the Text, we must inquire a little into the extent of this word *Man*, as it is here used. And we need not restrain it to any particular sort, sect or party of men; it may very well be allow'd to signify the whole race of Mankind: tho more especially, the wicked or unregenerate part, who are not yet either so thoroughly illuminated by the light of the *Gospel* as to see, or so thoroughly sanctified by the grace of *Christ*, as to choose the *Lord* for their *God*: that is, who account him not the only *Good*, which they ought to propound unto themselves in all their designs, and who make not his *Will* the only rule of all their desires and practices, the only foundation of all their hope and comfort.

It is too true indeed, that there is no man living, but hath too many devices of his own corrupt heart in this state of imperfection. For, tho *God made man upright*, Eccl. 7, 29. And the very fabrick of his body so contrary to that of other Animals, which either crawl upon the earth, or go always looking down towards it, should be his constant remembrancer, that he was made to contemplate something higher, than what they are concerned to know; that his soul should be always aspiring towards Heaven, and his eye should be ever fixed upon his *God*, and all his motions should be govern'd by his *Will* and *Counsel*, that *sitteth in the Heavens and shall laugh*, (Psal. 2, 4.) and *have all the Heathen in derision*, Psal. 59. 8. Yet alas, sin hath strangely bowed man downward, and made him too like in many things to the
Beasts

Beasts that perish. And although it be the work of *grace* to raise him up again, and restore his Primitive posture of soul; yet will not this great work be done completely, so long as he is but growing here on earth; he will be always sucking into himself too much of what is earthy, and death must first transplant him into a better soil, before he can be altogether *heavenly*.

But now the unregenerate man abiding in the same posture whereunto by his fall from God he was brought; and in a state of separation from his Maker; not being yet *born again* of the *holy spirit* of life and the *incorruptible seed*, nor ingrafted into the true *Vine*, the *second man from heaven* *heavenly*, and thereby reunited unto God the true principle of *Unity*, is evermore at variance with himself, divided in his thoughts within him, distracted into a confused Multitude of designs, by the great variety of contrary Objects pulling and hailing him contrary wayes unto themselves; so that he can never stand fixed in one point, or any long time together go the same way. His heart and mind within him is become the very seat of tumult and confusion; there is nothing but mere *Ataxy* and *Anarchy*; right reason being dethroned, and spoiled of all authority, and his thoughts within him, like a Seditious Rabble without any Head or Commander to order and overaw them, in a continual noise and hurry; and, as was said of that Riotous Multitude, (Act. 19. 32.) *The more part know not wherefore they are come together*. Something they would have of those many things whereof they find a want; but what it is, they cannot tell; and yet by any means they must and will have it, or else they will not be quieted; but they know neither where, nor how, nor of whom to seek it. Now how is it possible

ble for peace and due subjection to Government to be preserved in *Kingdoms and States*, so long as men are not able to make peace at home in their own hearts, nor know how to command or quiet their own thoughts and disorderly affections, but are continually by their own devices raising and fomenting an endless *Civil War* in their own Breasts; downright Rebels to themselves, and Enemies to the *Monarchy* that God himself hath founded in man?

Having thus seen what we are to understand by *man*, these four things we may now learn from the Text.

1. *The heart of man, till it be rightly fixed on God, is a very unconstant thing, unsettled in its thoughts, full of various devices and Counsels.*
2. *The Devices and Counsels of mans heart, till they concentre in the Will and Counsel of God, are very vain, and cannot stand.*
3. *The Will and Counsel of God is alwayes one and the same, and never changeth.*
4. *Whatever the devices and projects of man may be, they can never alter or frustrate the Will and Counsel of the Lord.*

Let us but have our faith well confirmed in these four things, and we shall soon see and feel the excellent usefulness of them, not only for the quieting of our souls in a contented and joyful acquiescence in God's wise Government of the world; but also for the establishing of a blessed and lasting Peace in Church and State, in a due subjection unto, and well pleasedness with the present Government, under which by the good providence of God it is our lot to live.

1. *The heart of man, unfixed on God the only complete and satisfactory good, is a very unconstant thing; altogether unsettled in its own thoughts, full of various devices and changeable Counsels.*

Man is a thinking creature, and his thoughts are always busie within him, whether he will or no. And till he can come to the knowledge, and be raken with the beauty of that one most perfect and delightful Object, the innumerable Excellencies whereof, may wholly engage all his more noble faculties, and find them sufficient imployment, his thoughts will ever be ranging about the World, and wildly wander up and down from one thing to another, hoping to meet in every thing with something that he wants; but finding it in nothing, they cannot rest on any thing. Hence they are as vain and various, as unconstant and changeable, as the things about which they busie themselves are empty and transient. Whether we consider the end men aim at, or the way they chuse to bring them to it, this is very evident.

1. Consider we first the end that all men aim at, the thing which they ultimately desire, in the common name and general notion whereof they are all agreed. This is *happinefs*, and it is no less than the full and final satisfaction of mans soul, the enjoyment of his hearts desire. This is certainly the thing that all would have, and that without which man can never rest, and which all men, until they have the Lord for their God, do feel the want of in themselves; and therefore concerning this the thoughts and devices of their hearts are many and various, and wonderfully confounded. For lack of heavenly light they cannot discover where it lyeth; missing it in what they already have, they flatter themselves with foolish hopes, that it may be found in any thing,

thing, which they have not yet tried. The poor man finds it not in *Poverty*, and is apt to think it may be found in *Wealth*; and therefore are his thoughts always busie at work in devising how he may be *rich*. The *rich* man cannot meet with it amidst all his abundance, and sadly finds that no *Treasure* can be enough to purchase it; his thoughts are therefore hard at work to contrive some other way to get it; and perhaps is made to hope, it may be found in *honour* and *greatness*. Another that is mounted up to *honour*, begins to find his very height uneasy, and his greatness heavy, his station very slippery, and a fall both very possible and often mortal; and his thoughts are set on work to devise a way to *retirement*, *ease*, and *pleasure*. The voluptuous *Epicure*, finds some sour sawce with all his sweet morsels, something there alwayes is to imbitter his delights, and he cannot swill and glut himself so long and so undisturbedly as he would, but either he must be sick, or his fullness is uneasy. Thus the restless roving heart of man wanders in the dark, and loseth it self in its own wandrings, and is made most unhappy by its own devices how to be happy. Whilst it is uncertainly led by blind affection, and wants the sure conduct of a divinely enlightened understanding, not able to discern that infinite *Good*, which offereth its self to its choice in every thing, the very thing it seeketh for becomes its stumbling Block in the way: the man falls and hurts himself against the very thing that he would have; he turns away in a chafe to something else, and still to as little purpose, and with as bad success. O the strange uneasiness of every condition to an heart that is void of God! Whatever it be that such a man hath, be sure it is not that very thing which he would have. That

which is present is, alwayes naught ; and that which is not yet, is always better, till it be here ; and when it is come, it is the worst of all. The ignorance of what is the only *good* keeps us alwayes miserable under all our long wish'd for and much endeavoured changes. Man is alwayes crying out, *Who will shew us any good.* Psal. 4. 6. Whilst the infinite good is before him every moment. He is ever complaining he cannot see it, but the fault is in his own eyes. The Sun shines, but he is blind. *God, who is only good.* Matt. 19. 17. is in all conditions present, but man will not be convinced that 'tis the *light of his countenance* alone that can make him happy.

2. But suppose we now, that men have already fixed their thoughts not only upon *happiness*, but upon the only *chief good* that can make them happy, the *Blessed God* : yet will their thoughts continue manifold and various, and inconsistent with themselves, so long as they have not hit upon that only sure way of enjoying *him*, which himself hath taught us. How do they clash and combat within him, like the thoughts of a man lost in a Wilderness ? Who, tho he know, and long to be at the place whither he aim'd to go, yet is utterly at a loss which way to take of the many that lie before him : he stands musing and thinking with himself, which is the most likely way to bring him home ; now 'tis this, and anon 'tis that, and presently again 'tis neither ; thus he stands disputing till the night overtake him, and even then his thoughts travel, and suffer not sleep to give him rest. O the vain projects of foolish man, so long as he maketh not with the *Psalmist*, Psal. 119. 24. *The Laws of God his Delight and his Counsellors.*

The ground of all this variety and confusion in the thoughts and *devices* of mans heart is very obvious. It is impossible it should be otherwise, so long as that, which he aimeth at, is certainly such as will deceive him; or whilest he walketh in doubtful paths without a sure guide. Man was not made to be his own God, nor was any creature made to be a God unto him, so that he should possibly find that in himself alone, or in any other created being, which may give him real satisfaction. If Man be not God, it is as certain he cannot make his own *happiness*. Nay, man is made such a creature, as can know and feel his own wants and weaknesses; and this is his *Makers* mercy to him, that he may not be always miserable by resting in himself; but being moved by the sense and feeling of his own emptiness and infirmity, may seek that out of himself in God, which he finds he cannot be well without. Till then a mans heart can fix upon that one thing which hath enough in it to satisfy all its desires, and get into that one way which will bring him to his desired happiness; his thoughts can have no rest, nothing wherein they may unite; But he is, as that double minded man St. James speaketh of (*Jam. 1. 8.*) *Unstable in all his ways.* This is a thing too obvious to every understanding, to be any longer insisted on. We go on therefore to the next thing.

II. *The Devices and Counsels of a mans heart, till they centre in the Will and Counsel of the Lord, are vain and cannot stand.*

This is a truth which being duly considered, as it well deserveth, would certainly be enough to bring men out of love with their own devices, and make them weary and ashamed of their own *Plots* and *Projects*. Who is there so foolish as to be willing to dis-

disquiet his own soul, and cast away his peace for nothing? And this truth, *That all such Devices and Counsels as concentre not in the Will of God are vain, and tend to no good issue, but shall end in disappointment and vexation*, is so clear, that though men are very hardly brought to make the right use of it; yet is it impossible for them so long as they have any degree of reason above mere fools and children, to deny it. We shall at present consider but a few things to put this point all dispute. 1. *What we are*, and how little grounds of hope we can find in our selves. 2. *What other men are*, and what slender probability there is, that either by their help, or against their will we should effect our designs. 3. *What God is*, and how impossible it is to prevail against his Providence.

1. Let us remember *what we are*. Consider but in our selves the greatness of our *ignorance*, and the weakness of our *power*, and we shall easily be convinced of the vanity of our own *devices*.

1. Our *ignorance* is such, how great soever is the opinion we have of our own wit and policy, that indeed we do not know *our selves* perfectly, and much less our *neighbours*. And yet we must know both, before we can certainly say, that *this* or *that* will fit either *us* or *them*. Our hearts are very *Labyrinths*, full of intricacies and windings, and he is a wise man indeed that understands all the little secret corners of his own heart so well, as to know exactly what will fit and fill them. Again the *nature* of things is too much in the dark as to us, we know but very little of it, and what we seek being yet untryed by us, we are very unfit to judge how suitable it will be unto us; or whether any of those things which we think we now most need, will fit us any better than what

what we have already ; yea, suppose the best, that the things which we so earnestly desire have something in them suitable to our wants and wishes, yet may they also have much more against us, and hurtful to us, which we cannot yet discern at a distance ; but may feel afterwards to our sorrow. Yet more, so very changeable are both persons and things, that what seemeth to us the best to day, may seem as bad to morrow ; and what now, if we had it, would really be some ease to us, to morrow may prove as great a grievance : what might be now either Food or Physick, may to morrow by some corruption in it, or change of constitution in us, be very little better than Poyson, yea bodies *politick* change tempers as well as bodies *natural* ; and those very *Laws*, which were with great wisdom at first enacted, as the properest Medicines for curing the present diseases, have in a very few years after, upon this account, been found a worse disease then the other. Men are too short sighted to see what will be most suitable to another Age, or perhaps to any considerable part of the present. This our *ignorance* is therefore enough to teach us not to build any confident hopes on our own devices.

2. But suppose our knowledge and skill were really as great, as usually is the *Politicians* self-conceit ; yet must we needs confess, that our *strength* is very little, and how wisely soever we can devise and contrive, we are too weak to bring about our own devices. This will appear more fully anon, tho indeed it is clear enough of it self. Who can be so mad as to think he can do what he lists, that he can overrule providence, controll the World, and bring to pass all that he would have to be ? All which he must suppose himself able to do, that can find cause

In himself to hope he may accomplish the devices of his own heart. Considering then our selves only, all we can say is this, *Vain man would be wise*. Job. 11. 12. But he is not so; *Man's goings are of the Lord, how can a man then understand his own way?* Prov. 20. 24. Our eyes are too bad to see, our arms are too weak to work what is best for our selves or the World; no hope can we have in *our selves alone*.

2. And therefore *next*, let us think *what other men are*. This consideration will make it appear a very improbable thing, for any one single man, or indeed, for any one *Party or Faction* of men, to be able to bring about their own devices. Do we suppose these men to be our *friends*? Are they at present our *Complices or Partners*? Or suppose we them our *Enemies*, and such as appear Adversaries to our designs? Or lastly, are they likely to sit *Neuters*? Which of these soever they be, they give us little encouragement. This only we are sure of, they are *men*, and but men; they are therefore subject to the same infirmities as we our selves are; they are unknown, they are mutable, they have peculiar interests of their own, they are all subject to the same overruling Power: Are they in Appearance our *friends*? Who can know whether they be so indeed? Who knows whether they will prove firm and faithful to our Counsels? Are we sure that their hearts are as our hearts, that we may safely give them our hands and take them up into the secrets of our Bosomes? Whatever they be now, can we tell whether they will be the same to morrow? Can we tell what the temptations of one day, what the very fears and jealousies, covetous, or ambitious desires of their own hearts, yea what the

the terrors of a nights dream may bring forth? He that dares too confidently trust his own heart, is but a fool, how much more is he so, that dares trust anothers? If they joyn really with us now in our murmurings, discontents, and dislikes of that which is, are we sure that they joyn also as cordially in our desires and wishes, and that the future variance and disagreement of minds about that which we would have shall not breed more confusion, and far greater inconveniences unto us all, then the very worst of those things we now concur to oppose and remove? Are these men our *Enemies* and such as are like to oppose our designs? And are we then sure that we are equal or superiour to them in strength? Or if we be, are we also as sure, that they are not our overmatch in policy or interest? Have not they devices of their own as well as we? And are they not as much in love with their own devices as we can be with ours? And will they not venture as far to accomplish their designs? Have they not interests of their own? And shall they not be as zealous to promote them? As impatient of all opposition to or attempts against them? Is the party we oppose but small and inconsiderable? And can we know how soon it will encrease either by the accession of others who will not shew themselves till necessity call them forth, or by the revolt of some other of our own? Or know we how many distinct parties there may be, whose designs are as inconsistent with ours as theirs are, and therefore rather then suffer either to prevail to the ruine of their own, are concerned to assist the weaker? Lastly, are these men *Neuters*? Can we have any assurance that they will continue so when they are in a strait betwixt two, and are like to be devoured by both or either? Are they not lovers of Peace,

upon what Principles it matters not? And shall they not be inclined even by that love, when they see they must side with one, to oppose the first disturbers of their Peace? Can we from mens faces or looks have any probable guesses, with whom they will joyn when it comes to Tryal? Is it not most likely, it will be with their lawful Governors, under whom they have so long enjoyed their beloved Peace and Quietness? May not *Egypt* (if we have such a thing to trust to) prove a bruised Reed, and run into the hand of him that leans upon it? If we be but so wary as to look about us, we shall find too many of our own spirit; and because such, the less our friends. They are for themselves as well as we, are as ready to sacrifice the publick good to their own ambition. Their peculiar interests engage them as strongly to oppose unto *ours* their *own* devices; and with as much fury and craft, from the same *selfish* principles, to endeavour our disappointment and defeat to prevent their own; and to hasten *our* ruine, as the first step to their *own* advancement. If again we look behind us, and observe the Histories of former Ages, we cannot miss of abundance of sad examples of rash and giddy Enterprisers miserably shipwrack'd by their own devices, caught deservedly in their own Nets, and fallen into the Pits they digged for others. If we providently look before us, we shall see but little likelihood that the succeeding generation will applaud or approve of our doings; but rather fall upon new devices of their own to undo all that we have done, or rather to build what we have destroy'd. In a word, if we know not what's in man, *God knows, that all his thoughts are vanity*, Psal. 94. 11. So little probability have men of bringing to effect their own devices, when they consider *what other men are*.

3. If mens devices have so little encouragement either from themselves or other men, how much less can they have from *God* when they consider, *what he is*. viz. *The just Judge of all the earth that will do right*, Gen. 18. 25. *Two hand joyn in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished*, Prov. 16. 5. Let them use all Arts to strengthen themselves in their *Conspiracies*, *he that is higher then the highest regardeth, and will be higher than they*, Eccl. 5. 8. Well said one who was no Saint, *If this Counsel be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, take heed how ye oppose it, lest ye be found to fight against God*, Act. 5. 39. What hopes can men have that their devices shall prosper without *Gods Blessing*, seeing *not a Sparrow falls to the ground without him*? And what confidence can men have that *God* will bless their devices, whilst they make not *him* of their Counsel? If they advise not first with *him* to know *his Will*, before they begin to device for themselves, they take a preposterous course to engage him on their side; and be sure where ever he takes part, there goes the Victory. But if men will be so wicked, as to advance their own devices against the *Ordinance of God*, they must needs make him their Enemy, whosoever being so makes it in vain for all the World to assist them; there is no fighting against *Omnipotence*. A Blasting instead of a Blessing must those men expect from our Heavenly *Father*, who, neglecting his commands, will presume of their own head to regulate his Family, and govern his Kingdom by their own devices. As impossible it is that such devices should stand, as it is to dethrone the *Almighty*, and devest him of all Authority and Dominion, *who hath established his Throne in the Heavens, and whose Kingdom ruleth over all*, Psal. 103. 19. Let men therefore consult, contrive, and act what

what they can; Let them associate themselves together; they shall be broken in pieces: let them gird themselves, they shall be yet broken in pieces; let them take Counsel together, and it shall come to nought, speak the word, and it shall not stand, Isai. 8. 9. &c. Let them either now consider it to move them to repentance, or they shall at last find it to their utter confusion, that notwithstanding all the wisdom of their own devices, *The Lord shall have them in derision*, Psal. 2. 4. They shall be before him but like the Chaff which the wind driveth away, Psal. 1. 4. So impossible is it for the devices of mans heart to stand, when they are not united in the Will of that God who ruleth Heaven and Earth.

III. The third thing we are now to observe is this. *The Will and Counsel of the Lord is always one and the same and never changeth.*

With God (saith St. James) there is no shadow of turning, Jam. 1. 17. Whatever changes there be in the world amongst the creatures, it is impossible for the great Creator of all things to be any other then what he was from all Eternity. He will not lie, nor repent, for he is not a man that he should repent, 1 Sam. 15. 29. This is a piece of humane weakness, to change purposes. If therefore at any time we read of Gods repenting or changing his purpose, as indeed sometimes we do in his own word, we must be sure so to understand it, as it may agree to the perfections of God, and not fasten upon him any of the imperfections of his creatures. It is said indeed of God, Gen. 6. 6. *It repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.* And 1 Sam. 35. 23. *The Lord repented that he had made Saul King over Israel.* And concerning Nineveh it is said, Jonah 3. 10. *God repented of that the evil he had said.*

said that he would do unto them, and he did it not. Sometimes God is said to repent of what he had already done, as if he could wish it undone again; and sometimes of that which he had declared that he would do, as if, upon after thoughts, he had changed his mind. Now should we understand such sayings as these, as the words sound at first hearing, not considering the immutable nature of *him*, of whom they are spoken, we should thereby run our selves into one of the grossest and most wicked errors in the World, being tempted by such expressions, to fasten upon God an imputation of such *levity* and *inconstancy* to himself, as a wise man would account one of the greatest affronts we could offer him. But all this is indeed spoken of God, *after the manner of men*. The change that is, is not in God but in us. What God hath once done, he ever approves of; and whatever he purposeth to do, that he certainly will do. Tho when we look only upon what is spoken and done, there is some appearance to us, as if there were some change of mind in the speaker or doer; yet is there no such thing. We hear what is said, and we see what is done: God hath threatned to destroy, yet he spareth: He hath done something, which afterwards he undoeth in some measure again. And hence he seemeth to us to repent of his sayings and doings, because he doth herein as men are wont to do, who repent and change their minds, and for this cause, by reason of this similitude of the doings of God & men, are these expressions applyed to God. We are ignorant of the Will and Counsel of God, and can know no more of it, then he himself is pleased to discover unto us; he hath not discovered the whole of his Will unto us, but only so much as himself thinks fit for us to understand. Hence we know

know but in part, and are very subject to mistake. To clear this, know we must that *Gods Will* being but *one*, is partly *revealed* to us in his word and works, and partly *concealed* from us, reserved only to himself.

1. The *secret Will* of God is not another from *that* which is *revealed*, as if there were two *Wills* in God; but both are *one Will*, whereof part is revealed, part is not; and both together are his *one, eternal* and *immutable Purpose* and *Counsel*. As God needed not, could not have any Counsellors to advise withal, about what he was to do. *With whom took he Counsel?* Isai. 40. 14. So shall his *Counsel* alway *stand*, and without any alteration, be completely fulfilled. *My Counsel* (saith God) *shall stand; and I will do all my pleasure*, Isai. 46. 10. This part of *Gods Will* and *Counsel* being never imparted unto us, we cannot know it but only by the event; which when we see, whatever it is, we must conclude, that it was Gods unalterable Will, either to effect it himself, or to *permit* it to be so effected by others, infallibly fore-knowing it, and resolved not to prevent it.

2. *Gods revealed Will* is so much of his *Counsel*, as he hath thought fit to communicate, and by what means he pleaseth, make known unto us. Whereby he either acquainteth us with his own doings and purposes, or directeth us in our duty, and how we are to demean our selves in the world.

That *Will* of his, which maketh our duty, shall *stand* as the Law and Rule of our duty: And that *Will* of his which declareth his purpose shall *stand*, as the firm foundation of our hope and expectation; both in that manner, as he from all eternity had determined, whatever appearances of change and variation

ation there may be to inconsidering men.

God is the sole and absolute Governor and King of all the World: and the Law whereby he governeth all things can be no other, but his own Will and wise Counsel. Every thing he ordereth and ruleth agreeably to the nature which himself hath given it, in order to the end for which he made it. Why he made the World just so, and no otherwise then it is made, we are not worthy to inquire; nor can we know any further then he hath taught us; it was his Will so to do, and that ought to satisfie us. How he will order every thing in the World from first to last, he cannot be obliged to tell us; and it is too much for us to know: but that all shall tend to the demonstration of his own Power, Wisdom and Goodness, and the happiness of those that love and serve him, we are sure; and this again should fully satisfie us. Man he hath made a reasonable and free Agent, & as such he is resolved to govern him. His Will, revealed is mans Law to live by, and by what parts and parcels soever, in what variety soever of Precepts according to the diversity of time and circumstances of persons, places, relations, &c. all perfectly foreseen by him; Still his Will is one, and he executeth it according to his own Eternal Counsel, with that variety of dispensations, as he hath determined. His Commands it is his Will we should obey, and that according to our nature, freely; it is not his Will to necessitate us so to do, and to use us as Stocks and Stones which have neither Understanding to consider, nor Will to choose. And it is his Will that the obedient shall be rewarded with blessedness, and he encourageth them to obedience by many promises, which he will fulfil and make good to the full, if the condition of obedience be performed, and this are

are all his promises of this kind to be understood. And he threatneth severe punishments to the disobedient to deter them from their disobedience, and these shall certainly come upon them, if they repent not; and thus are his Menaces to be understood. In short, what changes there would at any time be in men, according to that *freedom* of choice which he hath given them, he knew eternally; and what changes would thereupon follow in the World, or in any part of it, he not only fore-knew, but fore-appointed; and what reasons there would be for the delaying either of his promises, or his threatnings, or for any other change or circumstance, all was perfectly fore-known; and there can be nothing new to him; and therefore no *change* at all of his *Eternal Counsel*, but all things are exactly as he once for all hath determined.

When therefore God is said at any time to repent, it signifieth no more but this, that the thing is come to pass which God foresaw, and that he now doth not that, which he had always resolved to do, when such things should come to pass; here is a change indeed in his outward *Actings*, but none in his *Will*. When Gods *promise* are not performed, there is a non-performance of the condition, which he was never ignorant of, but foresaw, and now he acteth no otherwise, than upon the foresight thereof, he had resolved to do. But we, because these things foreseen by God are not revealed to us, are apt to think there is a change where there is none at all.

The reason why Gods *Will* is always one and the same, is the infinite perfection of his Nature, which can admit of no degree of *mutability*. What can move a man to change his Mind or *Will*, but his find-

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ing or at least suspecting he hath taken wrong measures in his former deliberations and resolutions. It is the rough want of foresight in men, that their purposes are alterable; and when things fall out, whereof they had no knowledge, they see cause to be of another mind than formerly they were. 'Tis always the discovery of something which they were ignorant of, or did not consider, that produceth this change in the minds of men. But there can be no such reason for God to change his purpose and Counsel; as he is *Almighty*, and can do whatever he pleaseth him to do, so also is he *Omniscient*, infinite in knowledge and wisdom, and nothing past, present or to come can be hid from him. All things lie *naked and opened* (or *unbowelled*) before him; the whole World, and all the Ages of the World, from its Creation to the Consummation of all things, are in his view at once, not the most secret thought of man, nor the minutest circumstance in things can escape his Eye. Knowing therefore eternally, as well all that shall be hereafter, as all that now is, or at any time hath been, nothing can happen contrary to his expectation, & therefore nothing can possibly move him to any the least *change* of Counsels: but he must needs be, as in his nature and being, so in his purposes also *immutable*, the same yesterday and to day, and for ever. And this granted, we shall very easily see into the truth of our next Proposition, as necessarily following from this *Immutability* of God.

IV. *Whatsoever the devices and projects of man may be, they can never be able to frustrate or alter the Will and Counsel of the Lord, but it shall firmly stand, and most punctually be fulfilled.*

And

And it must needs be so, if but for this one reason, that there can be no *device* or project of man, but God did eternally foresee it and hath provided for it. Yea, he is both *wise* enough and *powerful* enough, either to frustrate it and make it of no effect; or to overrule it, and bring to effect his own *Will* and *Counsel* by it. Men cannot surely be such Fools as to think that the infinitely wise God can be outwitted or deceived by any humane *Policy*; or that the *Almighty* God can be overpowered by humane *strength* or *force*; or that the most vigilant Governor of the World who never *slumbereth* nor *sleepeth*, Psal. 124. 4. *Whose eyes are in every place beholding the evil and the good*, Prov. 15. 3. Can be surprized by Humane *Treachery*. No *Conspiracy* in what dark *Hell* or *Vault* soever it be laid and hatch'd, can be hid from him; no *Confederacy* or *Combination* can be too hard for him, who is *irresistible* as well as *immutable*, and therefore can never be disappointed of his Will. Our God is in the *Heavens*, he hath done whatsoever he pleased, Psal. 115. 3. Yea, The Counsel of the Lord standeth for ever, the thoughts of his heart to all generations, Psal. 33. 11. And v. 10. The Lord bringeth the Counsel of the *Heathen* to nought, he maketh the devices of the People of none effect. Hence that bold Challenge of the Prophet to all the Churches Enemies, Take Counsel and it shall come to nought: speak the word and it shall not stand, for God is with us, Isai. 8. 10. And again, The Lord of Hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought so shall it come to pass, and as I have purposed so shall it stand, Isai. 14. 24. The Lord of Hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it, v. 27. The Counsel of the Lord lieth very deep, Clouds and darkness are round about him. And whilest vain men would be so wise, as to design for themselves without him,

and

and presume to teach or help him to govern the World, they unawares subserve his secret Counsel, and by an unseen hand are carried contrary to their own intentions, to promote those very designs of his which they strive with all their might and policy to defeat. Let them consult, *God* shall insatuate their Counsels: let them attempt, *God* shall frustrate all their attempts. He must be wise indeed that can impose upon *God*. *Joseph's* Brethren taking notice of his Dream, and his Fathers special affection to him, grow jealous of him, and to prevent his coming to have dominion over them, sell him for a Slave unto Strangers: and what do they in all this, but unwittingly help him up to that dignity and honour which *God* had design'd for him, that they may hereafter bow before him with the greater shame? *Pharaoh*, lest the *Hebrews* should encrease too fast, and grow too many for him and his people, decreth the destruction of all their Male Children, but see how the providence of *God* turneth this about to his ruine, for hereby *Moses* is exposed, and being found by *Pharaoh's* Daughter, is brought up in his Court, receiving thereby an education suitable to his future dignity, who was to be the leader and deliverer of that people which was to spoyle the *Egyptians*. *Saul* will by all means suppress *David*, and exclude him from succeeding him in his Throne, and what doth he herein, but by pursuing and exposing him to dangers, give him the fairest opportunities of shewing his fidelity to him, and his wisdom and valour to the people, so winning their affections over whom he was to Reign? The *Princes* of mere Envy bring *Daniel* to the Den of Lions, but only to this end, that by a Miracle of *God's* goodness to him he might be advanced above themselves and to their

own ruine. *Haman* prepareth the Gallows for *Mordecai*, and designs the honour for himself, but is herein an instrument of God, hereby to bring the honour unto *Mordecai* and himself to the Gallows of his own setting up. The Jews would void the Counsel of God by crucifying *Jesus*, and in crucifying him they brought to pass what Gods hand and his Counsel had determined before to be done, Act. 4. 28. They kill him lest the Romans should come and take away their Place and Nation, Joh. 11. 48. And for this both were afterwards destroy'd by the Romans. They will seal up the Sepulchre, and set a watch of Soldiers to prevent his Disciples never intended design of taking their dead Master away by night; and thereby they provide a strong Evidence of his Resurrection from the dead. Let men do what they will or can, God will make men know themselves to be but men, and that it is not they but he that ruleth all things according to the pleasure of his Will. *His Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and his Dominion throughout all generations*, Psal. 145. 13. When Devils and Men have done their worst, it shall stand; and therefore must his Counsel stand too, whereby he ruleth and governeth all things without consulting men. *He putteth down one, and setteth up another*, Psal. 75. 5. By him Kings reign, and he giveth them sometimes for a Blessing and sometimes for a Scourge to the People. If we would have them a Blessing, there is no way but obedience and an absolute submission to Gods Will to procure that, and if we have by our sins deserved the scourge, no Devices or Counsels of men can prevent that. God will be God, and we should be thankful that we are Men, and shew it by giving him a reasonable service, and contenting our selves in keeping within our own compass.

compass. We may easily break our hearts with our own devices, but we can never frustrate Gods Counsel, that shall stand.

Having thus very briefly run over the *Doctrines* of this Text, for the confirmation of our *faith*, we now proceed to see of what excellent *use* all this may be unto us for the rectifying of our *opinions*, or the regulating of our life and conversation. And we shall be sure to find matter enough in these few things we have learned, for our *instruction*, *correction*, *encouragement*, and *consolation* in the ways both of *Religion* and *Loyalty*.

I. The *Instructions* which we shall at this time take notice of from the doctrine delivered are *two*; the *one* respecting the time past, the *other* the time to come; both presently necessary to be diligently attended to, if we be desirous to understand our duty to God as good *Christians*, or to the King as *Loyal Subjects*.

1. Let us reflect a little in our thoughts upon the time past, and being instructed to whose goodness we are to ascribe all those good things we have hitherto enjoyed, all those deliverances from evil, that have been hitherto given us: All these, how great, how many soever, are to be attributed only to the good *Will* and *Counsel of the Lord*, that hath forborn to punish us for our own *devices*, that hath delivered us from the *devices* of men. Have we hitherto of a long time enjoyed the blessings of *Peace* and *Plenty* in a good and fruitful *Land*? Have we been blest with a good *Government*, wholesome *Laws*, the free exercise of our *Religion*, and use of our *Estates*? Let us thankfully acknowledge our selves indebted to Gods goodness for all this. If the *Lord* had not been on our side, may *England* truly say, if the *Lord* had

not been on our side, when men so often have risen up against us, they had swallowed us up quick, they were so wrathfully displeased at us. How many and various have been the devices of men against us? Of men of much different stamps, of contrary complexions, to subvert the Government, to destroy and corrupt our Religion, to undermine our *Peace*, to make us a Prey to our Enemies, and to set us at variance among our selves, to devour and eat up one another at home? Ever since it hath pleased God to own us for his People, to set any mark of his special favour upon us, to manifest a peculiar *Providence* over us, in setting over us religious *Princes* to be the *Defenders of the Faith*, amongst us, and our gracious *Protectors* in the sound Profession of the *Catholic Faith*, and pure worship of God; how hath the *Prince of darkness* bestirred himself, and set all his instruments on work to create us trouble? What strange devices and devilish contrivances hath he put into mens hearts to obstruct the work of God amongst us and set forward his own? One while he beginneth his work at home, in the very midst of us, tryeth what he can do by the powers which are by the providence of God set over us, puts *Fire* and *Faggot* into their hands to consume us; and when he seeth that this will not do, but that there is one even in the fiery *Furnace* with us, that is able to abate the fury of the Fire, and bring forth the reformed Religion, like Gold out of the Furnace, more refined and pure: not able to indure the Lustre and brightness of it, he gets him away as far from it as he can, and beginneth the work anew, and layeth the *Plot* at the greatest distance, that it may ripen out of sight, and come upon us at full strength: he fetcheth his Race even from as far as *Rome*, and is resolved

to bear us down with forreign Force; he leads up *Armies* marching under *consecrated Banners*, manneth out *Navies* Christened by the Name of *Invincible*, and with these he will come upon us like a sudden Deluge; and who is the Lord (saith he) that he should deliver them out of my hand? Will not this do against the Lord of Hosts? Then is he resolved to return back again in a disguise, and fall to work in secret *Holes*, and *Cells*, and *Vaults*, he will lay his Snares in the dark, and *who* (saith he) *shall see*? Close *Plots* and private *Conspiracies* of men sworn upon the Sacrament to Secresie who can be so quick-sighted as to discover? And now let it be *Poyson*, or *Dagger*, or *Gunpowder*, or what *Hell* can invent, so the *Anointed of the Lord* may fall and perish, and the *Protestant Religion* be rooted out, all's well enough, he hath served his *own* ends and the *Popes*, and what *Devil* can desire more? But still there is no *inchantment* or *divination* against *Israel*; so long as *God* is with us, what can *Hell* do against us? He must now therefore contrive, if possible, how to drive out *God* from among us; and no way so likely to do this, as to sow amongst us the Seeds of *Division*, *God is love*, and will not own those for his *Children* who do not like *Brethren dwell together in Unity*. As long as we stand entirely *one*, united in one body, we have too much strength to give him hope of an easie Victory; but he knows well enough who hath said, that a *house divided against it self cannot stand*. To make a breach therefore, whereat he may enter, he fills mens heads with *fears*, *jealousies*, and *scruples*; makes them look like *Monsters* to one another. He works upon mens *phantasies* and *imagination*s, and presents before them as to Men in a dream strange *Phantasms* and *Apparitions*. Some

conceive they see *Superstition* and *Popery* in those very persons and things which are under God, our best fence against them; and so do these words always run in their minds, that they can call nothing which they are taught to dislike by any other name than those, and *Antichristian*. Some again imagine they see *Tyranny* in the best formed *Monarchy* that the World hath, ready to swallow up at once all *Liberty* and *Property*. Others think they see *Christ* coming to reign upon the Earth, and commanding them to go before him, to prepare his way by levelling the *Mountains* and raising the *Valleys*, dashing in pieces the *Kingdoms* of the Earth like a Potters Vessel, binding their *Kings* in Chains, and their *Nobles* with Fetters of Iron. Thus by his subtle delusions were men, like such as are rouzed up in some frightful dream with a dismal cry of *Fire, Fire*, made to run about so long to quench an imaginary fire, no where visible but in their own *hot* heads, till they had kindled a real one, that had almost burnt down not only their own but all the houses of *God* in the Land. But notwithstanding all this, it pleased God to awake us, and that by little less than a Miracle, in the wonderful restitution of our present most gracious *Sovereign*. And now, who would not think that our former miseries and our present Peace, and the long missed blessings of a gracious Government, should so strongly work upon us, as to perswade us to keep well when we may be so? But the *Deceiver* is still too cunning for us, and knows how to turn the very Motives of *Union*, into the occasions of *Division*. He takes advantage of those very *Confusions* yet fresh in our Memories, into which he had formerly brought us, to keep alive our Jealousies on all hands of one another: so that at this day *mutual suspicions* and

ill opinions keep us at as great a distance in the days of Peace, as *Pikes* and *Musquets* did in the time of War. Still we are in *Sides* and *Parties*, devising how to supplant and ruine each other. The remembrance of former days unhappily fomenting and hightening our suspicions and jealousies to that degree, that we seem rather the Laughing-stock then the terrour of our Enemies, and *Rome* it self cannot chuse but laugh within it self to see us so industrious in doing her work for her, and by our contentions and separations making an open way for that very evil which men pretend above all others to be afraid of. And now seeing we have been at so much pains in assisting our professed Enemies to destroy us, what can we imagine could have all this while preserved us against all those devilish devices that have been hatch'd both abroad and amongst our selves at home to undo us, but that great and good God alone who overruleth all the devices of men, who sitteth in the Heavens above all Powers, whos faith to the Sea, *Hitherto shall thou come but no further, and here shall thy proud Waves be stayed*, Job. 38. 11. The Lord reigneth, let the earth be glad thereof, let the Multitude of the Isles be glad thereof, Psal. 97. 1. This Isle may be glad thereof. He is great in Zion, he is high above all People, Psal. 99. 2. His right hand and his holy arm hath gotten him the Victory, Psal. 98. 1. It is his right hand, and not our Sword, his wise Counsel not our Policy, his wonderful goodness, and least of any thing our righteousness that preserveth us in safety. Except the Lord build the house, all our Builders shall labour but in vain, we shall quickly with our own hands pull it down upon our heads. Except the Lord keep the City, all our Watchmen shall wake in vain, our own devices, our own sins will be sure to fire all, and we shall

soon be like to *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*. Therefore not unto us, not unto us but unto the *Lord* alone let us ascribe the honour and the glory of our preservation, and all the wonderful deliverances which *he* and *he alone* hath given unto our gracious *King* and this whole *Kingdom* in him. It is only because his *Counsel* always stands unmoveable and cannot change, that our own devices have not long e're this utterly ruined us, or that the manifold devices of our *Enemies* have not prevailed against us.

2. As we are instructed hence to attribute all our past Mercies and Deliverancies to the goodness of God, who alone could disappoint the *devices* of men against us; so are we hence also taught, how both at present, and for the time to come, to behave our selves towards God, let the times prove never so troublesome to us by reason of the restless *devices* of men. We must always be sure to bear in mind, and fix immoveably upon this one point, that the *Counsel of the Lord* is altogether unchangeable, one and the same for ever, and shall undoubtedly stand for a *Law* to us, and for a *Barr* against every thing that can be devised by men against us not agreeable unto it. Conclude we certainly that the *Lord* *he is God*, and will be so, maugre all the *devices* of *Fools* that say in their heart there is no God. That he will alway govern the World by his own *Will*, and confound the wicked in their own *devices*: That all things being ordered by him must needs be wisely ordered, and therefore as no device of man is permitted by him, but in wisdom; so of his goodness he will either confound these devices in his own time, or by them accomplish his own Wise Counsel, to the destruction of his *Enemies*, and the good of his *Church* and faithful Servants. All things shall
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work together for good to them that love him, Rom. 8. 28.

Let therefore our Behaviour be alway such as becometh the faithful Subjects of the Great God and King of all the World : and our business, as we are such, is pure obedience to the Laws of his Kingdom, and not to help him to rule and order things by our Wisdom, as tho he could stand in need of our *devices*, or had thought good to make us of his Great *Counsel*. Let us mind our *Duty* in attending to and executing cheerfully his *Commands*, and not intermeddle with that which is properly his work, any otherwise then he himself shall give to any of us Authority to Act under him. Unto some he hath given his *Commission* to Act and Rule his People *under him*, and for him. *By his Wisdom Kings Reign, and Princes decree Justice, Prov. 8. 15. The Powers that be are of God.* He hath put a Sword into their hand, and they bear not that Sword in vain, Rom. 13. And they that will not stand in awe of it, deserve to feel it. *He hath also set some in the Church, 1 Cor. 12. 28.* And hath made them *Overseers* over his Flock to feed it, Act. 20. 28. And we are commanded to obey them that have the Rule over us and watch for our Souls, Heb. 13. 17. These are *God's Commission'd Officers*, put in Authority under him, and over us ; and as they are to do their own duties in their several places towards God, whose Servants they are, and to whom they must give an account as well as we ; so can they not do their duty unto him, but by governing us, and using all such means as he hath ordered, or allowed, to keep us in due subjection both unto God and them, and to see as much as is in them, that we do our duties too. Let no *devices* therefore of other men out of whatsoever *School* they come, perswade or provoke us either to follow theirs, or set up new devices of our own

own against this certain *Will* of *God*, or to cast off the *Yoke* of *Christ* by our restless endeavours to free our selves from the *Yoke* of *Men*. We cannot be *Christs* *Subjects* if we will be our own *Masters*. It is just that he assign to each *Servant* in his *Family* his proper work, and call them to account as he shall please; if we shall arrogate to our selves a right of Judging them, whom he hath set to Judge us, we place our selves in his *Throne* and usurp his *Prerogative*, which is the highest *Treason* against the *King of Kings*: and can we think that such shall go unpunished by him? Let our *condition* be never so uneasy, let our *Grievances* be never so many, let our *sufferings* be never so great, let us be sure to keep in mind, *what* we are, and *whose* we are, and what is our *Business* to do. We are not *Gods*, nor *Lawgivers* to our selves, but *Men* under his command that made us and redeemed us. *We are not our own, but his that bought us with a price*, 1 Cor. 6. 20. What then can be our work, but that which becometh the *Subjects* of so absolute a *Monarch*? Thankfully to own the *Priviledges* we have, of his grace and goodness, hitherto enjoyed, acknowledging that the very least of them far exceedeth all our merits: contentedly to rest in his choice for us, and in the state and condition his *Providence* hath assigned us, acknowledging always that to be very good, and best of all at present, which he hath appointed: wholly to resign our selves with all our concerns and interests into his hand, unto his sole disposal, saying heartily, *it is the Lord, let him do whatsoever seemeth good to him, not ours but his Will be done*. Concluding that as his *Will* must stand and cannot be disappointed, so it is fit we should own him in our hearts to be what really he is, our *Supreme Lord* and absolute

Governor, and shew our selves well pleased, that his Will should stand; and, be it what it will that he doth, agreeable to our wishes and hopes or not, we being his Creatures as well as Subjects, wethat should be both willing to it, and delighted in it. We may be very sure of this, and that should be full enough for us, that God cannot Act against himself, nor contrary to his own nature, and therefore he can never do otherwise then wisely and well, and that he will make it appear so in the end, whatever it seems now. If then God grant us a plentiful, peaceable and flourishing state, and give us Kings and Governours that are Davids indeed, men after his own heart, and nursing Fathers unto his Church, encouragers of true Piety, and Protectors of their Subjects in their just Rights and Liberties, he doth wisely and well; and we are to be thankful to him as for an undeserved blessing; and if, on the other hand, God for the punishment of our sins of Pride and Rebellion, Profaneness and Formality, &c. shall give us Sauls or Jeroboams, oppressors of their Subjects, or Persecutors of Religion, still we must confess that God doth wisely and well, and like himself as a most just Governor; it is less then we have deserved, and it is no more then we need. He is both just and good, as well in punishing as rewarding, and we ought to bear with patience, yea and thankfulness the chastisement of our sins. Let it be our business then to persecute and mortifie our Corruptions and Lusts, and God will provide that we want not fit Governors, when he seeth us desirous to live in obedience unto him. The instruments in Gods hand may be changed, as he seeth his work requireth, but still the same God reigneth, and his Counsel must stand. Thus much for our instruction.

II. In the next place, the Doctrine of this Text

is an excellent corrective for the malignant humors wherewith the *Body* of this Kingdom hath for some time too much abounded. It may serve to restrain the heady and furious attempts and practices of some, and to abate the discontents and silence the murmurings of others among us. And these two sorts of People are very easily met with in most places.

1. There are too many in the World, who will needs be thought as *wise*, not only as their Humane *Governors*, but as *God* himself. And indeed, it were less to be wondered at, if such men were only to be found in that *Church*, which hath so long pretended to an infallibility of Judgment : tho, blessed be God, whatever it be in its Doctrines, it hath not yet proved so in its *Treasonable* and *Bloody* Attempts and Practices. But that any men of such a mischievous self-conceit should be found among them that call themselves *Protestants*, and *Reformed Christians*, is a thing wonderful indeed, and ought to be as much lamented by us, as our Adversaries will be sure to rejoyce in it, and make a bad use of it. And surely such poysonous Weeds could never have sprung up among us, had it not been from that evil seed which those *Seminaries* imployed by the *Evil one*, have cunningly sowed in our good Field whilst the Keepers of it slept. There is a viperous Brood of men, tho they are not willing to own their own Original, or it may be have been ingendred so much in the dark, that they do not know their own Parents, which cannot live but by eating out the Bowels of that Government under the warm Wings whereof they shelter themselves. These things are always big with new devices, not how to *serve*, (as hath been much pretended) but rather to *direct* or *correct* Providence. And by their Practices, they might per-

persuade men to believe, that in all their Prayers they do not desire of God so much to *guide* them, as to *follow* them whithersoever their own wild *devices* shall lead him. If *Religion* have not yet discovered unto such men their folly and wickedness, yet, a man would think, that unto men that talk so much of *Providence* as they have been wont to do, their own so often frustrated *devices* should be sufficient to convince them of their vanity, and make them feel how hard it is to kick against the Pricks; and that very *confusion* of Languages that is amongst them, so that they have not been ever able well to understand one another, should discourage them from all designs of building another *Babel*, or advancing their own *devices* in spite of Heaven. Will men that are so high pretenders to a *divine spirit* and a *new light*, be always like those *silly* ones, of whom 'twas said, *They are ever learning and never come to the knowledge of the truth*, this easie truth, that the Powers that be, are ordained of God, and that whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation? Rom. 13. 1, 2. What but the want of that *Self-denial*, wherein they are wont so much to glory, can make men so dull, as not to be able in so many years, no not with the encouragement of *Indulgencies*, or the Rod of Discipline, to learn so plain a Lesson? Will men be always so much children, as to think they can do more or better for themselves by their own *devices*, then their Heavenly Father will do for them by his wise *Counsel*, if they will approve themselves his dutiful Children, and shew their intire submission to him their Supreme Lord, by obeying those whom he hath placed over them, and *submitting themselves* (as he commands them, 1 Pet. 2. 13.) To every Ordinance of

man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King or Supreme, or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of Evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well? Will men always be so absurd, as to think they best secure the Liberty of their Consciences, by rebelling against those whom they must needs be subject to, not only for wrath, but Conscience sake? Rom. 13. 5. If it be so hard a task to yield Obedience to the standing Will of God, written so legibly in his word, and so often proclaimed unto us by his Ministers, as the Rule of Duty; how much harder will it be found to submit with Alacrity to his secret Will when it shall be declared in the course of his Providence by the Event, in a patient suffering even for well doing? How shall men have the face to call themselves Christians by the name of Christ (except it be by the same figure as the Jesuites are by the name of Jesus) who so wholly neglect the commands of Christ, and lean more to their own devices than to his promises? Do they think to make themselves more happy, and to prosper better by their own Consultations and Conspiracies; by Plotting of Insurrections and Murders, and by such devices as these to secure their Religion and their Liberties, (tho, blessed be God, such danger (if there be any) is yet at a distance) then by preparing themselves, as we are all commanded on pain of forfeiting our Christianity, to bear the Cross and suffer for righteousness sake? If when ye do well and suffer for it ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps, 1 Pet. 2. 20, 21.

Yet truly, were there nothing of Religion in the case, there be two things nevertheless, which well

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considered would go near to check all such *devices*, tho to the devisers they may seem to aim at what is best.

First, Which of us is so wise, as to know certainly that his own Projects shall either succeed according to his mind, or be approved of by others, or produce the publick good, or indeed his own? I think there is no man that can in reason pretend to such a certainty, and, considering the various and contrary tempers of men, it is hard to come up to a *probability*. If so, then the certain, or-but likely Troubles and Commotions, War and Blood-shed, that the whole Nation may suffer in order to the accomplishment of these *uncertain* Devices in such great changes as are usually designed, should make him that loves his Country, (which love is the fair colour such men commonly paint over their foulest designs withal) very shy in setting abroad his own *devices*. It is a very easie matter to set discontented men together by the ears, but not so easie to make them friends again, or perswade him, that thinks he hath the advantage, to sheath his Sword; nor yet can he that raised the Fray, be sure that himself shall not be wounded in the Scuffle. Men are much easilier agreed to pull down one Government, then to set up another: because it is much easier to find one, which hath something in it contrary to all the several private interests of the Conspirators, then one that will promote them all; which it may be are too various, ever to meet in one point, or indeed within the Compass of any one *Model*, that which the common cry of *Liberty* doth sufficiently declare. *Love thy Countrey*, that's *God's Will*: and for the love of it, lay aside thine own *devices*. *My Son fear thou the Lord, and the King, and med-*
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die not wish them that are given to change, Prov. 24. 21.

Secondly, Do these men indeed love themselves, and their own safety? Let them then for their own sakes, take the safe way. Keep the many devices of the heart within the heart, for if they once be suffered to pass the Tongue, there is no longer any safety. He must have a faculty more then humane, who can be sure, that that man, unto whom he first reveals his secret, (and revealed it must be or it can do nothing of what he would have it to do) hath not another device ready to defeat his, and make him pay the charges of both. If men therefore would in all their Consults advise with God's Will, the Publick Good, or their own private Peace and Safety, those many devices which quicken in their hearts would die there too, and have the same Womb and Tomb.

2. A second sort of People, which this Text should correct is, that very numerous part of Mankind, the Querulous, Murmuring and discontented, whom nothing that is present will either please or silence. If these be not all so daring as to devise, they are so ill natur'd as to be angry, that all their desires, how unreasonable soever, are not fully satisfied; and to satisfy them will be found no easie matter, especially till themselves seem better to understand them. They would have the World to be Governed according to their mind, but how that should be, their thoughts are not to this day well agreed. They think too well of themselves, not to think too ill of their present condition, as too much below their Merits: and therefore cannot be reconciled to the Publick Management of Affairs, whilst it giveth them not the opportunity of bettering themselves every day according as the every days new devices

of their hearts shall prompt them. The great complaint among such is, that the *wicked* are *exalted*, and *good men* *discouraged*, and the course of *Justice* is *perverted*; and the common discourse is of the *wickedness* of the *times*, and the *looseness* of *Government* and *Discipline*. It is true, that if at any time such things as these are visible, and whilst *men* are *new*, they will be at all times too visible, good men cannot chuse but be very sensible of it, very sadly bewail it, and mourn before God for the sins of their Brethren, *Rivers of waters will run down Davids eyes because men keep not Gods Law*, Psal. 119. 136. Yea, and what becometh every one of them in their respective Stations and Callings with all humble submission and modesty, yet with all Godly *Zell* and *Courage*, they will be ever ready to do towards the amendment of mens lives, the rectifying of errors, correcting Abuses, and redressing all Grievances. But they begin at home, as is fit, and proceed regularly, and keep to their proper Provinces, and are more ready to do their own duty, then to complain that others do not theirs. To make the *Failings* of *Princes* and *faults* in *Government*, and the *Grievances* of the Nation a common *Table-talk* and to be always signifying to the World their *discontents* and *uneasiness*, is too great an Argument of a *Proud* and *Factions* Spirit, and savoureth too rankly of a mind corrupted with *Seditious* and *Rebellious* Principles, and too much Estranged from the God of Peace. In thus doing men shew they regard themselves and their own Wills more then the Will of God. What evils hath the Government at any time brought upon us that we have not by our manifold sins too much deserved, at least at the hand of God the Uni-

versal Governor, if not at the hands of *those* who
 rule under him? And how many Blessings may we
 enjoy under the *worst* of Governments which we
 have never in the least deserved? Dare we under-
 take presumptuously to prescribe to God, and proud-
 ly say, that either we are such, as he ought not to
 punish at all, or at least, such as he ought not to
 punish after this manner? If God send a Plague, or
 a Famine, or any kind of *Mortal Sickness* on a Peo-
 ple for their sins, is it reasonable for them to mur-
 mur against the Air and unseasonableness of the Wea-
 ther? And if God chastise us with evils of any o-
 ther kind, by what or whomsoever, shall it be more
 reasonable to quarrel with and complain of the Instru-
 ment or the Messenger for executing upon us the *Will*
 of God, then to seek out where the fault lieth whereby
 we have provoked him to anger, and to amend it?
Jehu received the promise of a Kingdom to the
 fourth Generation for executing punishment on
 those whom God had determined to punish, 2 *Kings*
 10. 30. Yet did not *Jehu* depart from the sins of
Jeroboam which made *Israel* to sin. God sometimes
 giveth a King in his wrath, and taketh him away again
 in his displeasure, *Hos.* 13. 11. If he deliver men
 into the hands of their Oppressor, tho he be the
 King of *Babylon*, they must serve him and be quiet,
 because they see it is the Will of God so to deal
 with them, *Jer.* 27. *Patience* under our Sufferings,
 and repentance of our sins, and reformation of our
 lives, and obedience to our Superiours in all lawful
 things even to the utmost, to shew we own their
 Authority, and decline not the hardest of their just
 commands, are the best ways of reconciling our
 selves to God, and turning his Judgments away from

us, and not to stand murmuring and complaining of that which in justice he is pleased to inflict upon us by what hand soever. *Why should a living man complain? A man for the punishment of his sins?* Lam. 3. 39. Thus much for Correction.

III. In the *next* place, let us be exhorted, *first*, ingeneral, to attend *God's Will* in all things, and let that take place of all the *devices* of our *hearts*. Alas, what would become of the World, if God should disregard it, slacken the reins of his Government, and permit all to the hands of men? *Phaethon's* guiding the Chariot of the Sun, and firing the World, would look no longer like a Fable. Hot spirits and giddy heads with their bold devices and rash enterprizes would soon turn all things upside down, and put more then one Nation into a combustion. Men are of too different complexions and divided interests ever to unite in *Peace* and *Order*: contrary humors and principles would always produce contrary *Laws* and *Rules*, and every Party would be concerned to maintain *that* which would best uphold *it*, not only to the ruine of the opposite Party, but to the rending of the publick Peace and Welfare. Then, and no sooner, let men talk of carrying on their own devices and designs when they either know themselves to be too strong for all men, or can assure themselves that all men will be of their mind.

If any shall now ask whether we would have them sit still and unconcern'd how matters go right or wrong, and whether it be not every mans duty to endeavour with all his might the rectifying of what he seeth amiss in Kingdom or Church? To this

some Answer hath been given already, to which may be added thus much more.

1. Be very sure that what you think to be amiss, be so indeed, before you go about to mend it. Men are too apt to make their own irregular desires and wishes, yea, and not seldom an irrational Conceit and Phant'sie, or even such a thing as this in some other men or party for whom they have a kindness, the rule of right and wrong, and so judge every thing to be amiss, which they, or such as they count their friends dislike. Measure things by their proper rule, not that of *Self-interest* or *Affection*, but *God's Word*; view and examine them by a true light, be not misled by mens reports, or vain surmises, but *try all things and then hold fast that which is good*. If you take not this course, instead of mending what is amiss, you will only marr that which is good. Be sure that what you would amend be against *God's Will*, or else it needs no mending, and none will owe you thanks for your vain devices.

2. Be as sure in the next place that you are every way rightly fitted and duly qualified for the work you take in hand. See that you have both skill and strength and good Authority for what you undertake. It is not every bold Bungler that hath face enough to praise himself and laugh at others, who is fit for such a work as is the reformation of Kingdoms and Churches. It is not all a thing to hold a *Plow-staff* and a *Scepter*. Be content to employ your Talents accordingly as you are fitted with them, and think it is *Gods Will* you should busie your selves in those employments for which he hath best furnished you, and in those stations wherein he hath thought fit to place you. If he had designed you for higher Cal-
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lings he would probably have given you a more suitable Education, and furnished you with better Tools. And if other men, who pretend to higher things, shall tell you that they are wise enough both for themselves and you, and thereby would tempt you to second them in their devices: be sure first that they have indeed all that which you find wanting in your selves to fit them for being your leaders in such bold Attempts, and that's not only *Wisdom* and *Strength*, but good *Authority* and a just *Call* unto the work from God. Let them produce their Commission, and shew you, *thus it is written*, and that must be the Will of God declared in his word, not whispered into the Ear by a *Pidgeon*, not dictated from an infallible *Chair*, not sent in some flash of *new Light*, or suggested by something blasphemously called the *Spirit* within them, for the truth of all which you must at last be content with their own bare word, which is sure to deceive you. If you have not *Authority* from God for what you do, he will say, *Who hath required these things at your hand?* *Isai.* 1. 12. To support the tottering *Ark of God* must needs appear a thing well pleasing unto God, but let *Uzzah* do it, and he dies for it, *2 Sam.* 6. 7. Be his *zeal* what it will, he must have patience and expect his *Call*. Men must know, that tho' it must needs be good to be *zealous* always in a good matter, *Gal.* 4. 18. Yet should they take time to consider and pains to satisfy themselves, that the matter be indeed as good as now it seems to them; and that their *zeal* for it be good too, for all *zeal* even for good is not so, and that the good *zeal* carry them not beyond the bounds of their *Authority*. *Zeal* for God must have the *Will of God* for its *Rule*, it is other-

wife a *blind zeal*, a *blemished Offering* which God will not accept. 'Tis a very absurdity and contradiction to Act in Zeal for God against Gods Will. It is not a mans own *Conscience* that is his *Law-giver*, or that can Authorize him of its self to any Action; it is a part of its office to direct us, but it must be by the Law of God to do his Will, and must produce his Commission to prove its own Authority to command. Gods Counsel only can be our Authority in such cases, and that must be revealed to us, before it can warrant us in our work.

3. Where the Command of God is express, there is no disputing about *convenient* or *inconvenient*, the thing is by command made *necessary*, and must be done whatever follow. But where there is no command from God, and you would do a thing because you think it expedient and needful to be done; be sure you do it not till you have Authority from those whom God hath placed to govern you, neither go about to move them for such Authority till you have good reason to believe that what you go about will bring good, and not more hurt than good. Many little *inconveniencies* are rather to be born than one great *mischief* so much as hazarded. I had rather indure some little fits of sickness, then purge, when I cannot do it without destroying my Body. Labour to see through to the end of your work before you set upon it in earnest. They repented of their folly too late, that by removing one Tyrant brought in a Multitude, much more shall they who not content to bear some small inconveniencies under a lawful Prince, shall by Rebellion make way through Anarchy for Tyranny. What Government in the World was ever yet without some inconveniencies, 'tis the condition

dition of all things under Heaven to be imperfect and to admit a mixture of Evil. If a Beam or Post in my house stand so as either somewhat to deform it, or to be otherwise inconvenient, yet before I remove it, I would consider whether I can do it with safety, and not bring down the Building to my greater trouble and cost. God never intended every *Kingdom* to be an *Heaven*, no more then that all *men* should be *Angels*. Let him therefore that would correct what is amiss in his own judgment, be sure he shall not turn all into an Hell of Confusion, and by a vain endeavour to make all men *Saints* or *Angels*, let in a *Devil* which he knows not how to drive out again.

Having premised these needful cautions it is easie now to see what we are to do, under what Government soever we live.

Our first business is, to find out that which we are sure will stand, and can never deceive us, the *Revealed Will of God*, and let all our *devices* be, how we may most effectually obey it. Let us never be so rash or conceited, as to hope any device of our own can prosper that is not governed by this. Let *God* therefore preside in all our *Consults*, let his *Book* lie open before our Eyes, and advise with him before we attempt any thing, and then I am sure we shall never be a *Rebellious* People, and unless our former sins have taken too fast hold upon us, it may well be hoped, no *miserable* people neither.

And certainly *God* hath not been sparing in revealing unto us his own mind, so far as we should be concerned to know it, especially as it is to be the Rule of our Behaviour towards our *Governors*. Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, Rom. 13. 1

Is a standing Rule which God will never cancel : And submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, 1 Pet. 2. 13. is as sure and plain. Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, to be ready to every good work, Tit. 3. 1. Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and unto God the things that are Gods, Mar. 12. 17. Render to every man his due, Tribute to whom Tribute, Custom to whom Custom is due, Rom. 13. Let Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions and giving of Thanks be made for all men, for Kings and for all that are in Authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. All this, and much more to the same purpose is plain enough without either Rhemish or Geneva Notes to explain it to us. Nothing of all this is Apocrypha, nor the Tradition of men. And he that can devise how with a safe Conscience to resist the Power and not violate therein the Will of God, must have an Art to make Gods Word say what he will. You see your duty as clear as the light can make it, Be subject, submit, obey, pay Tribute, pray heartily, suffer patiently, resist not at all; if you will be happy, do it; if you have any love for God, for your Country or your selves, do it. Think not that God can ever bless any Rebellious or Treasonable Designs. His Will of Duty is, obey or suffer : his Will of Government is, He that resisteth shall receive damnation. Let all your devices be, how by doing the one to escape the other. For the Counsel of the Lord that shall stand.

Next, observe the Will of Gods Providence in the Event, and rest your selves fully satisfied in it. Having made your Prayers unto God to direct all things

things to his own glory and the good of his *Church*, continue in well doing, persevere in the Faith, and say, *O Lord, thy Will be done.* Think with your selves, that this is the due *homage* you owe unto *God*, this is the true *love* you owe unto *your selves*, this is a just *debt* you are to pay unto the *World*. Pay therefore your debts, and give every one his due.

1. Be just to *God*, and let him be *your God* indeed, and you do not take him for *your God*, if you do not cheerfully rest in his Government, if you do not heartily rejoyce in all his doings, and give him thanks in *all things always*. Why should you not do thus, but that you think he doth not well, or that he hath not an over-ruling hand in all that is done? And either way, you cast him off from being your *God*, seeing you disown either his *Goodness* or his *Providence*.

2. Be just to *your selves*, grudge not your Souls that peace and comfortable rest in *God* which they might enjoy. If you expose your selves to the *devices* of men, whether of your selves or of any others, you bring your selves into a restless state of trouble and vexation. Say therefore unto your own hearts, *stand still and see the Salvation of the Lord*.

3. Be just to the *World of Mankind*, and wish it not so ill as to change one infinitely *wise* and *good* and *powerful Governor* for a Multitude of *foolish, weak and wicked Tyrants*, the Lusts and Humors of Carnal Men. What a *Bedlam* would the whole *World* soon be ome, if all men were left to be ruled by the devices of their own hearts?

IV. In the last place, let all such amongst us as fear the *Lord*, and rejoyce to do his *Will*, draw much comfort to their Souls from this Spring of *Consolation*.

solation. What is there in the World that such men can reasonably be afraid of? *The Counsel of the Lord that shall stand*, when all the World hath done its worst; and this is his Will and Counsel, *That nothing shall harm us if we be followers of that which is good*, 1 Pet. 3. 13. Against all the devices of Men or Devils, this is our Armour of Proof, *Gods Will shall stand*. We know not indeed what sharp chastisements our manifold Sins may require, but we know this, that it is his Will thus to purge away our Dross, and refine us for himself, that we may be bound up among his Jewels. We know not what strong Physick our diseased Souls may stand in need of, but this we know, we have both a wise and good Physician, that knows our temper and what will fit it, and whose end is his own honour in our life and health, and who hath no delight in our torment, nor design to destroy us. If God permit the devices of wicked men, of what Sect or Party soever they be, to create us some disturbance, it is but either by the smart we feel to confirm us more in our just dislike of such Religions as are to be upheld by Blood and Cruelty, or if he bring us thus to the fiery Tryal, to carry us the sooner into Heaven, that we may be safe out of the reach of all infection or vexation. *A mans heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps*, Prov. 16. 9. The Pilot steareth, but God gives the Wind, and directs the Ship whither he pleaseth. And this is the never failing comfort of all good men, that God is always at the Helm. *The Clouds are turned round by his Counsels; that they may do whatsoever he commandeth them upon the face of the World or the Earth. He causeth it to come, whether for Correction, or for his Land, or for Mercy*, Job. 37. 12, 13. Bless.

fed be God, we have often tasted of his Consolation, and by our former Manifold Experiences of his goodness, should learn yet more to comfort our selves with hopes of future Blessings ; and that he who hath so often delivered us already will deliver us unto the end. There are but these three things can give us cause to doubt of it. Our great *unthankfulness* for past Mercies, our present *uneasiness* under and *disobedience* to his Government, and our *distrustfulness* of his Providence. Therefore that we may be able to comfort our selves in *him* and the Stability of his Counsels , let us make sure of these things.

1. That we heartily praise his Holy Name for all the rich Mercies we enjoy, and the great deliverances he hath wrought for us at all times, and more particularly for those singular tokens of his Mercy in the many Deliverances and continued Preservation of the *Person* of our *Dread Sovereign Lord the King* : a Mercy, which many years Confusion and Misery should in all reason have taught us before this time how to value, and which God himself may seem to commend to our special notice by those truly wonderful Methods he hath used to confer it upon us ; so wonderful, that hardly any thing can seem more so, then that there should be yet any among us, whom the observation thereof hath not convinced of the vanity of all Rebellious and Treacherous devices. Many devices and much talk there hath been of late about the *Succession*, but had our Gracious King and his *Royal Highness* been taken in the Nets of their Enemies, an unhappy end had been put to that dispute , and who should have succeeded in the *Throne*, *any or none, one or many*, it is happy for

for us we are not driven to consider. A long *Succession* in all likelihood we should have had of intolerable Calamities, and might have despaired of seeing Peace in our days. It is an easie thing to lop off more Boughs in an hour then will grow again in many years. *Governments* are like Glasses, the easiest things to break in pieces, but the hardest to cement again.

2. Let us continue in an *absolute Obedience* and *resignation* to God in all the Branches of his Divine Will, and particularly in a *subordinate Obedience* unto his *Anointed*. Let the *fear of God* overaw us in all our undertakings, and let the same fear move us to *Honour the King*, and restrain us from all *disloyal Attempts* and *Thoughts*. There is no comfort for Rebels but what they must fetch from their own *devices*, and before they can find any solid comfort in those, they must cease to be rebellious either against God or the King, by submitting all their *devices* to the *Counsel of the Lord*.

2. Let us place our whole trust in God alone, for *vain is the help of man*. His Breath goeth forth and all his thoughts perish. Then we best honour God, when in doing his *Will* sincerely, we *trust* in *him only*, and doubt not of his Protection, who is both our *King* and our *Father*, and our Merciful God. *He is of one mind, and who can turn him? And what his Soul desireth, even that he doth; for he performeth the thing that is appointed for us*, Job. 23. 13, 14. To conclude, let all our *devices* be only such as may centre in the *Counsel of God*, and *Gods Counsel* shall be the strength and accomplishment of all our *Devices*.

Now to the Blessed and only Potentate, the King of
Kings, and Lord of Lords, the King Eternal, Im-
mortal, Invisible, the only Wise God, who giveth
Salvation unto Kings, and delivereth his Servant
our Gracious Sovereign from the hurtful Sword,
be Honour and Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE

T

THE
CERTAIN RULE
OF
Peace and Love
IN THE
CHURCH.

Phil. II. 3.

*Let nothing be done through strife or vain-glory,
but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other
better than themselves.*

That Sacred Truth, which our Blessed Jesus hath revealed unto us in his Gospel, is the Doctrinal Foundation whereupon the Christian Church doth stand; if this were lost, there could be no such thing as that which we call a Christian Church upon Earth. The joynt Consent of Christians in this Sacred Truth is the erecting of this Spiritual Building upon that

firm

firm Foundation ; and where this consent is not, in the Fundamental Doctrines of *Christianity*, the *Church* cannot be one. The *Love* and *Charity* of *Christians*, which they have in the first place unto *Christ* their *Head*, as Members of one body, united under him, and living by him ; and in the next place, unto each other mutually and suitably to their proper stations and offices in the Body, is the *Cement* where-with these *living stones* in this Spiritual Building are held together ; and where this decayeth, the Walls chap, and the House goes to ruine. All this we may read in those words of *St. Paul*, *Ephes. 4. 15, 16.* where the *Apostle* telling us what care *Christ* took after his *Ascension* into Heaven for the planting and governing of his *Church* upon Earth, the edifying of the Body of *Christ*, as he expelleth himself, v. 12. saith, all was to this end, that speaking the truth in love, we may grow up into him in all things [increase in or unto him] which is the *Head*, even *Christ*. From whom the whole body fitly joyned together and compacted by that which every joynt supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the Body, unto the edifying of it self in love. Now if this be the great end, for which *Christ* furnished men with gifts for the Preaching of his Gospel to all Nations ; that by imbracing that one truth Preached, they might become one Body of *Christ*, and continue united in love, as the Members of the same Body, governed and directed, as well as enlivened by *Christ* the head of the Body, and mutually caring for, and assisting one another, according to the measure or proportion, Faculty or Office of every several part, for the benefit of the whole, its health and growth and preservation ; it can be no wonder here to find the *Apostle* so earnest in his Exhortation to

to Peace and Unity. *If (saith he) there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any Bowels of Mercies.* It must needs be a matter of exceeding great weight and concernment, we must needs conclude it is something whereby God is highly glorified, and the Salvation of *Christians* greatly promoted, which *St. Paul* would obtain at their hands by all these affectionate obtestations; yea, 'tis such a thing, as he saith, would complete and perfect his joy, *fullfil ye my joy*, saith he. He was now for the sake of that Gospel of Peace and Joy to them, which he had Preached unto them, a Prisoner in Bonds; and he seemeth to desire no more to make his Bonds easie to him, and his Imprisonment a delight, but only this, *that they be like minded*, or mind the same thing; *having the same love, of one accord, of one mind.* That they would live in Unity, loving one another mutually, as one Body with but one Soul; having the same affections, carrying on the same designs, all joyning heads, and hearts, and hands in a vigorous pursuit of the same end by the same Methods.

This is a request so very reasonable, that a man would wonder what need there could be of ushering it in with so much earnestness: the thing he desireth is so evidently good in it self, so apparently conducive to the happiness both of Church and State wherever it is practised, so much the interest of every single Member of the Body, that it is almost unimaginable, how any man should be so absurd, as not to gratifie with all readiness, I say not the *Apostle*, but *himself*, in a matter wherein it is so visible, that every mans private welfare is so deeply concerned. What man is there among us that doth not profess himself (of what *Parry* or *Paction* soever

foever he be) most ready to joyn with the Church in singing, *Behold how good and how pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity ?* Psal. 133. 1. It is so, without all doubt, and all of us willingly grant It to be so ; yea, and all of us would be glad to see it ; but then, it must be upon those terms only as it can never be hoped for. Like two Armies in the Field ready to joyn Battel, both are very willing to hear of Peace, and would be content not to hazard their lives in the Fight ; but each will have Peace on its own terms only, and neither will abate an Ace of its own demands ; and so still they are agreed in nothing, but in being unreasonable, and desiring that which cannot be. All the difficulty therefore is, to find out an expedient, whereby all Parties may agree, not only in a general desire of Unity ; but also in the likeliest means of effecting it. And truly this would be no very hard matter to bring about, were we all really as good *Christians*, as we would be thought to be. We should not need to run as far as *Rome* to seek for an *infallible* Judge to put an end to our Divisions : Which why any man should see cause to do, I know not, except he be perswaded that no hand can heal them but that which made them. Would we but only have that real Veneration for the *Holy Scriptures*, which all Protestants pretend to have, and submit our Wills and Humours, which some men have been apt to mis-call the *Spirit*, to the directions of that *Holy Spirit* which we all acknowledge to be infallible ; and follow his advice concerning the means, whose exhortation to the thing we all acknowledge to be very reasonable, much of the difficulty would soon disappear.

In order to the establishment of so excellent and desirable a Blessing of *Love, and Peace, and Unani-*

my among *Christians*; something there is, which must be laid aside, as that which certainly obstructs and frustrates all Peaceable Attempts; and something there is, which must be learn'd and practis'd, which will mainly promote this glorious design. But men are not so ready to do, either the one or the other, as the Principles of *Christianity* oblige them to be. What these things are we read in the Text. *Let nothing be done through strife or vain-glory, but in lowliness of mind, let each esteem other better than themselves.*

Here we have the best expedient in the World for the maintaining both of *Unity* in Faith and Doctrine, and of *Unanimity* in Love and Affection, and of *Uniformity* of Practice and Behaviour, and consequently of the *Peace* and Tranquility of both *Kingdom* and *Church*. O that all they who profess themselves to be desirous of the happiness and prosperity of both (as certainly all good *Christians* are) would begin to account it their greatest Wisdom to learn with *Christian Poliricks* of such as *St. Paul*, men indued with the *Spirit* of *Divine* Wisdom, which hath this double commendation, that it is *first pure and then peaceable*, *Jam. 3. 17.* And would lay aside that other kind of *Wisdom*, which they have too long admired, and been in love with, which is *earthly, sensual and devilish*, where by *envying and strife fill the World with confusion and every evil work*, *v. 15, 16.* How soon would the World look with another face? How soon should we see that happily effected to the unspeakable joy and glory of *Christendom*, which hath so long miserably baffled all the great Wits of the World?

The Rules here given us to this end by the *Apostle* are two.

I. The

1. The former shews us, what we must remove out of the way, that *Peace* and *Love* may enter and take possession, in these words, *Let nothing be done through strife and vain-glory.*

2. The other teacheth us, what is that right truly *Christian* temper of Spirit, whereby *Peace* and *Love* may be cherished and maintained, in these words, *But in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves.*

Let us now suppose, not only that all who read this are in profession *Christians*, but also sufficiently convinced that it is every mans both duty and interest, strenuously to endeavour all he can in his proper Place and Calling, that *the Unity of the Spirit may be kept in the Bond of Peace*, as the *Apostle* exhorteth, *Ephes. 4. 3.* That our *Jerusalem* may be as a City that is compact together, *Psal. 122. 3.* That we may yet see those happy days, wherein we may take sweet Counsel together, and walk unto the House of God in company, *Psal. 55. 14.* And this supposed, the Business of this discourse is not to perswade such men to do, what they can need no perswasion to do, to desire the return of *Peace* and *Unity* in the Church; but to take the right way to endeavour it, and to put every man his hand to the work in good earnest; Acting by those never-deceiving *Rules* which *St. Paul* hath here given us. And this that we may all do, our present Business is to learn, 1. To understand. 2. To use them. And that in the same order as here they lie before us.

1. The first Rule here given us is this, *Let nothing be done through strife and vain-glory.* Or thus. *These two things, strife and vain-glory must very carefully be avoided by us in all our Actions, if we would contribute any thing to the Peace and Unity of the Church;*

And God knows, they are every where too visible, as the two *Doors* at which all our *Disputes* and *Divisions*, and whatsoever is destructive to true *Concord* and *Unity*, then which nothing is a greater stranger among us at this day, are wont to enter but never can find their way out again. To learn, *first*, what these things are, and *Secondly*, how we are to remove them out of the way, will be enough for the understanding of the first Rule and its use.

1. *Let nothing be done through strife or contention.* This *strife* is a quarrelsome humour, a Spirit of *Opposition* and *Contradiction*, a strange *crossness* of temper wherewith very many men are exceedingly troubled themselves, and are as troublesome to others: who are never well as long as they are quiet, or suffer others to be quiet; their very *life* seems to consist in being sick of every thing almost that they see or hear, and they feed upon the *faults* and *infirmities* of Mankind. The chief exercise of their Souls is to be always *gain saying* and *contending* right or wrong. They study not for the *Truth*, but for the *Maistry* and pester the World with *disputes* and *invektives*; not to *confute* Errors, and shame Vice; but to vent the boyling humor, and to vex those by whom they are vexed, tho not by any thing done to offend them; 'tis enough that they are not of *their* opinion, and that they are such as they are pleased to choose out for their *Adversaries*, and to shoot their *poysoned Arrows* at, even bitter words. Men of this *currish snarling* temper must be *snapping* at every thing that comes in their way, and *barking* at all that comes not from themselves; and usually the best things are with them the greatest faults, if they be not the *Authors* of them, as rarely they are of any good, except what by following their own *litigious* humour, they

they may sometimes chance to *stumble* upon. Something they must ever have, whatever it cost them, to *oppose* to every thing that another either affirms or denies. This is certainly as wicked and devilish a temper, as it must needs be very uneasy; and that which hath served *Satan* to as many evil purposes, as any evil himself was ever Father of. A pious and ingenious Writer calls it very fitly, the Devil's *Goliath-stratagem*, which hath served him not only to defeat, but even to defeat the Armies of the Living God. To these men may well be applied what the *Apostle* saith, 1 Thes. 2. 15. *They please not God, and are contrary to all men.* In a word therefore, by *strife*, I suppose we are here to understand, that *froward* and *selfish* humour, whereby a man is so wedded to his own will and conceit, that he is always in a posture of defiance to every thing that opposeth either; and prizeth his own *opinions*, only because they are his own, above the best *reasons* of other men; is discontented with every thing that suiteth not exactly with his own *Sentiments* or *Desires*, and so idolizeth his own *imaginations* and *inventions*, that he thinks the publick Welfare, the Tranquility of the World, and whatever else will not fall down and worship them, but a cheap *Sacrifice* unto them. This or something of it, is the thing which we are in the first place to remove out of the way.

Now how great reason every man hath to correct this *peccant humour* in himself, when ever he finds it stirring, and wholly to disburden his Soul of it, will be very easily discerned by him that shall consider but these three things. 1. *The evil root from which it grows.* 2. *The utter inconsistency of it with the truth of Christianity.* And, 3. *The pernicious influence which it hath upon the Church.*

1. The root of it is not always one, but whatever it be, it is never good.

In some men, it seems to be nothing else, but a certain kind of *Childishness*, or a *Pettishness* and *Peevishness* of Nature, as Children are crying earnestly for every new thing they hear of, and will by no fair means nor foul be quieted, till they have it; and when they have got it, are as soon weary of it again, and as apt to cry for something else, though they cannot tell you what it is; and it may be for that same thing again, whereof but now they were so weary; and those Children above all others that are the greatest *fantlings*, and most indulged by fond Mothers, are commonly noted to be of this pettish humour: such a giddy inconstancy there seems to be in many men. Some little things there be for or against which they are wont to be very eager; and yet can they give no considerable reason either for their like, or dislike of them; but they are dissatisfied with what is present, and (tho they cannot well tell what to call it) they are very angry with those in whose power they think it is to give them what they want, and give it not. Their phant'sies are keenly set upon it, and quiet they will not, nor cannot be without it, nor will they suffer those that are near them to be at quiet for them. Surely this is not the temper of a sober serious *Christian*, who like a good natured Child, is content, so he have his wholesome Food, which his *Father* alloweth him; tho he cannot have it dressed according to his own phant'sie: and is as unwilling, as afraid to make any disturbance in his *Fathers* Family about things that are not of very great concernment.

In others, this looks like a contracted Disease, brought upon themselves, by some disorderly usage
of

of themselves. It seems to be a *Sickness* and *Squeamishness* of Soul, much like unto that of the Stomach, which ariseth from a disorderly Diet; whereby it is come to pass, that it nauseateth every thing, but only that which is most hurtful, and serveth only to feed the distemper. Or, as men in some diseases long for many things, but relish nothing that's offer'd them; taste greedily, but spit it out again with a loathing. Some men having disordered their heads by poring into some of the profoundest Doctrines, which are too deep for them; and having confounded their Brains with (at least to them) unintelligible Notions, are come at last, to think every plainest thing mysterious, and dispute like *Skepticks* about it. Some have so baffled themselves with wandering through a Wood of Opinions, that they can find no way out again, but presently flie out of every Path that they enter into, tho for no other reason, but a phant'sie only, that it may not be the right. Some have been so nicely educated, and taught to be so curious, that they dare hardly taste of any thing that another hath made ready for them, for fear of poyson, or at least sluttishness; every Ceremony is to some *Antichristian*, and *Idolatry*; and to others a very *Idol*, and *Christ* himself shall rather want his Worship, then it shall be indured by some, or not be worshipped too by others. All this is far from the healthful temper of the sound and serious *Christian*; who whilst he can have the Daily Bread of his Soul which may feed him to Eternal Life, sits down contentedly with the rest of the Family, feeds heartily, and gives *God* thanks, asking no question for Conscience sake, either who first invented the fashion of the Dishes, or to what uses they have been sometimes put; all his care is to see it be the Food his Father

hath provided for him ; and that all things are observed about it, that he hath commanded ; and for other things, he leaves them to their ordering, to whose care the Government of the Family is intrusted.

In others again, this seems to come from an *angry* and *waspsish* nature. Some mens Souls seem to be all Fire, or else as *Tinder*, the least spark presently sets them all on fire. They cannot hear so much as a word with any Patience, or Calmness, that sounds not just as they would have it ; and it is all one to anger them, and not in every little thing to humour them. And be sure of this, that *an angry man stirreth up strife*, Prov. 29. 22. *A wrathful man stirreth up strife, but he that is slow to anger appeaseth strife*, Prov. 15. 18. *And as Coals are to burning Coals, so is a contentious man to kindle strife*, Prov. 26. 21. How far this is from the Meek and Lamblike temper of a good *Christian*, I need not now stay to shew.

In another sort of men, this may spring from a preconceived *prejudice* against the persons of men ; and then, as he that hath been taught before-hand to have an ill opinion of his *Physician*, is apt to disgust every thing that he prescribeth, without so much as once examining, what it is or how likely to conduce unto his health ; and by this means often deprives himself of the readiest means of cure, by a most unreasonable jealousy of being poysoned : so, when men are once possessed with a prejudice against the persons of others, especially of their Teachers and Governors, they grow jealous of their instructions, and commands ; and dispute where they should learn, or obey ; and quarrel with their duty, not because they think it is not so, but because they know by whom it is enjoyn'd ; and imagine they can never enough oppose what comes from those, whom they have learn'd to suspect or hate. Others

Others are, it may be, not well pleased with their *Lot and Station* in the *Church*, and cannot be pleased with any thing whilst they are displeased with *that*, but will think themselves concern'd to dispute against every thing that comes from such as are advanced above them. *Envy* is a very restless and quarrellsome thing, and in whatever Breast it once gets entertainment, that man shall never want an evil tongue; if he have not wit enough to *dispute*, he shall never want Malice enough to rail or slander. *Strife* can never be a stranger to the *Envious*, they are often Companions, and go hand in hand in Scripture, as *Rom. 13. 13.* &c.

We must not here pass by, without any Notice, that which is called the Root of all Evil, the *love of Money*. Where the love of this World is, there is not the love of the *Father*; and then be sure, there will be too little love among the Brethren. What a Multitude of Strifes and Contentions hence daily grow up in the World (every one seeking, who shall get most of it) no man can be ignorant. And as little can it be doubted, that this is the cause too of some disturbance in the *Church*. Where shall a man hope to find a *Church* that is Sanctuary enough against *Covetousness*? and where *Covetousness* finds room, it will be no news to see *Altar* set up against *Altar*. If every *Party* in Religion have a *Craft* of its own to get *Wealth* by, every *Party* will cry up its own *Diana*, and no *Diana* shall want an Army to fight for her. It hath sometimes been accounted a piece of good policy, to reconcile the *Factions* to the Government of the *Church*, by giving them a share in it. And where this is practiced, the *Covetous* will sure have so much policy too, as rather to be *Factions*, then to be poor. There is no danger of disturbance from the moderate and peaceable;

peaceable ; let him therefore dwell poor in a corner, feasting by himself on a good *Conscience* ; 'tis pity to prejudice his expectation of a greater reward in Heaven by giving him preferment here on earth. But the *importunate* man is troublesome, and must be preferred lest he weary us ; and the *turbulent* and *seditions* man is dangerous, and must be bribed to be quiet. And shall we now think the worldling a fool, to be either *modest* or *peaceable* when he fears to be poor by being so ? Again, *Contention* keeps up a *Party*, and a *Party* keeps and maintains us : If we stir it not, the fire will go out ; the *Zeal* and *Charity* of the *Faction* will cool together : we have overheated our opposites, and made the Church too hot for us ; and if we keep not our friends warm, they will not keep us from starving. Thus 'tis well, if whilst *God and Religion* is the word, and fairly writ in the *Banner*, *Mammon* be not set up in the heart, and the Battels that are fought be not all his.

Lastly, I shall name but one thing more, and that is *Pride*. And perhaps it might have been enough to have named this one for all : seeing we are told, *Prov.* 13. 10. that, *only by Pride cometh Contention*. Whilst one will brook no *superiour*, and another no *equal*, what's become of *Peace* ? One is angry because he thinks his *Merit* above his *Fortune* ; and another as angry because he thinks anothers *Fortune* above his *Merits*. One is vexed to think his own *Glory* eclipsed by anothers shining too bright, and another is in a Fume, that any man should dare to take notice of his *Spots*. One strives to keep himself up at the *hight*, and thinks he grows *lower*, as he sees any other grow *higher* ; and they must all either be kept so much below him, as to look like almost nothing, or he can hardly think himself any thing.

Another

Another thinks himself not advanced at all, so long as he sees but one step more, by which he may ascend; and will never leave juggling, 'till he get up to the highest. It is a fine thing, to march in the *Head* of a Party; and if this honour may not be bad, yet is it something to follow such a Leader, especially in braving Authority to its Face; and it is no little glory to be thought wiser than the most, and especially then our Teachers and Governors, or to be thought sufficient to set up for our selves. And it is an odious thing to be told of our Errors and Faults, and more odious yet to tell our selves and our followers of them, to call our selves *Fools*, and confess we have *befooled* others. And if we contend not to uphold what we have done, we shall seem to *destroy* what we have *built*; or to suffer tamely that to be *built*, which we have *destroy'd*; and how intolerable a thing is this to a *proud Spirit*? *He that is of a proud heart stirreth up strife*, Prov. 28. 25. But *cast out the scorner, and contention shall go out, yea strife and reproach shall cease*, Prov. 22. 10. From whichever of these roots *strife* ariseth, or whatever else it may be that gives being to it, be sure we may, it is very evil.

2. In the *next* place, to shew how altogether inconsistent this contentious humour is with the right Gospel temper, a very few words may suffice. The peaceable State of the Gospel was in the Prophets foretold in such expressions as these. *They shall beat their Swords into Plough-shares, and their Spears into Pruning Hooks*, Isai. 2. 4. *The Wolf also shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard shall lie down with the Kid, and the Calf and the young Lyon, and the Fatling together, and a little Child shall lead them. They shall not hurt nor destroy in my holy Mountain*, Isai. 11. 6. & 9.

According

Accordingly, we meet with nothing in the *Gospel of Christ*, but the sweet breathings of *Love and Peace*. At the first revealing of our Blessed Saviours *Nativity*, those *Heralds of Heaven*, the *Holy Angels* are sent down into the *World*, to proclaim *Glory to God in the Highest, on Earth Peace, good Will to- wards men*, Luk. 2. 14. He that then was born into the *World* was the *Prince of Peace*, the work he had to do was to make *Peace and Reconciliation*, his *Commands* were *Peace and Love*, his *blessing* was to the *Peace-maker*, and his *Legacy* at his death was *Peace*. He came to *reconcile* us unto *God*, and he came also to *reconcile* us one unto another, and to *make of twain one new man*, Eph. 2. 15. He himself was the great *Exemplar of Love and Mercy*, of *Condescension and Meekness*, of whom it was said by the Prophet *Isaiah*, *He shall not strive, nor cry, neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets. A bruised Reed shall he not break, and smoking Flax shall he not quench*, Mat. 12. 19. He lived in all due obedience to the *Powers*, and in conformity to the *Customs* that then were; and commanded all to *render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsars, as well as unto God the things that are Gods*, Mar. 12. 17. He smartly rebuked the two *Sons of Thunder*, *James and John*, when they would in imitation of *Elias*, have called down fire from *Heaven* on the *Samaritan Village*, that had affronted him; telling them, they understood not the true *Gospel Spirit*, Luk. 9. 55. When he was led like a *Lamb before the Shearers*, as one that is dumb so opened he not his mouth, Act. 8. 32. When he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously, 1 Pet. 2. 23. So little of contention was there to be seen in him. And he hath given in charge to all that

that follow him, *that is*, to all *Christians*, to deny themselves, and take up his *Cross*, and to learn of him to be *meek* and *lowly of heart*; who disdained not to stoop so low, as to wash the *Feet* of his Disciples, and lower yet, to converse with *Publicans* and *Sinners*. Now, most certain it is, that *if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his*, Rom. 8. 9. And his Spirit is the Spirit of Love, and Meekness, and Patience, and Peace, and Unity; and teacheth all that have it, not to hate, but to love their Enemies, not to curse but to bless them, not to render evil for evil, but to overcome evil with good, Rom. 12. 21. And to pray for them that despitefully use and persecute us, Matt. 5. 44. And The Servant of God (saith St. Paul) must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing such as oppose themselves, 2 Tim. 2. 24. And if this be spoken more especially unto the *Governors* and *Teachers* of the Church, yet is it not only, that they may know their own duties; but that they should teach others also to walk so as they had them for an example, Phil. 3. 17. And as much as in them lieth, live peaceably with all men, Rom. 12. 18. The Apostle ranketh strifes among the works of the *Flesh*, which they that do shall not inherit the *Kingdom of God*, Gal. 5. 20. They therefore that indulge this humour, must lay aside not only all pretence of being *Spiritual*, but all claim to the *Kingdom of God*. Whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men? For while one saith, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal? 1 Cor. 3. 3. Where there is strife and envying, there is confusion and every evil work, Jam. 3. 16. And who seeth not that this is utterly inconsistent with the Gospel of Purity and Peace.

3. And therefore *lastly*, must it needs be destructive to the *happiness* of the Church; unless any man can be so unreasonable as to think, that *Confusions*, and *Heresies* and *Schismes* can consist with its *happiness*; which evils the *Apostle* joyns with *strife*, as the *effects* with their *cause*, or at least, as those close *Companions* which are very rarely separated, *Gal. 5. 20. &c.* Sure it is, that *an house divided against it self cannot stand*, *Matt. 12. 25.* The strength of the Church which is the *house of God*, lieth in the *Unity of Faith* and *Love*. *Strife* is the very cutting asunder of that *Bond of Peace* wherein the *Unity of Spirit* is to be held. It is the violent forcing asunder the stones of the *Spiritual Building*, and dashing them in pieces one against another. *Unity of Affections* there can be none where *strife* comes, but a *biting and devouring one another, and being devoured one of another*, *Gal. 5. 15.* And indeed an opening of a broad way to some common Enemy to enter in and make havoc of all. And the *Unity of Faith* is in no little danger. Men of a contentious Spirit are always brim full of *Objections* against every thing, and must swell till they burst, if they have not leave to give vent to their uneasie Souls (always in travel to bring forth something new) in troublesome *disputations*, which are soon begun, but not so soon ended. When the humour is once set abroad, it runs everlastingly. It would be labour to no purpose to say more of this, the mischiefs of *Strife* have been a long time too visible not to be seen of all, tho they seem to be too little considered by the most, even so visible as to render the *visible Church* of Christ on Earth almost *invisible* too. Let us only here add the wise *Kings* Observation, and, if it come not too late, as I hope it may not to some of us, let us take

his

his advice too. *The beginning of Strife, is as when one letteth out water; therefore leave off contention before it be medled with, Prov. 17. 14.*

How this Malignant, and (God knows) at this day too predominant humour, which so destroyeth the healthful State of the Church, may be purged out, the *Second Rule* will teach us. In the mean time, a *Question* is, I suppose, ready to be here asked by some, which seemeth not impertinent, and therefore deserveth some answer. It is this.

Qu. Are we *Christians* bound, without any dispute at all, to swallow down every *Doctrine* which our Teachers shall commend unto our Faith? And must we without any Examination of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the things injoynd, rest in the Will of our Superiors, applying our selves, without any more ado, to the executing of their Commands? May we not oppose *Falshood*, and contend for the *Truth*, and refuse to do wickedly when we are bid by men in Authority?

An. To this *Question*, which hath been often ask'd, and as often answered, we shall here answer only so far, as it seems to reflect upon the *Rule* here given, or what hath been said of it. We say therefore, let it be far from any *Christian* to plead for or countenance an *Implicit Faith*, and a *blind Obedience*; or to dissuade any man from making use of his *Eyes* or *Reason* in a sober inquiry into the *Truth* of *Falshood* of any *Doctrine* that is Preached; or into the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any *Command* which is given by men. All that we are to be dissuaded from in this place is, that we do not any thing of this out of *Strife*, or with a quarrelsome and contentions mind. Do it in meekness and humility, and with a peaceable frame of Spirit, as men truly zealous for the *Truth*, and

and desirous to do your duty to *God* and *Man*, and you shall neither hurt your selves, nor be obnoxious to the *Woe* which belongs to them by whom *Offences* come. More particularly,

1. We are commanded to search the *Scriptures*, *Joh. 5. 39.* For tho those words were spoken to the unbelieving *Jews*, and not to *Christians*; yet, by a Parity of reason, are we equally concern'd in the duty there enjoyned. If they, having received of *God* the Books of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, as the *Rule of Faith* and *Life*, were obliged to search those Books for directions in both; and particularly to convince them of their present duty, now to believe in *Jesus* as the promised *Messiah* to the saving of their Souls: as much cause have we, who have received the Writings of the *Evangelists* and *Apostles*, as our *Rule of Faith* and *Holyness*, to search them diligently, and to try all things by them, that we may be sure we obey the *Gospel of Christ*, without which there is no salvation to us. That we may be always in a readiness to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us with meekness and fear, *1 Pet. 3. 15.* And that we be no more Children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of *Doctrine*, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive, *Eph. 4. 14.* And may not believe every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of *God*, *1 Joh. 4. 1.* Leave we therefore this *Implicit Faith*, and taking things on trust on the naked credit of our Teachers without all Search and Tryal of their *Doctrine*, to the Disciples of *Rome*, against whose new *Faith* were there nothing more to object, even this alone were enough to render it suspicious, that it is afraid of the *Light*, and of a fair Tryal by the *Written Word*. *God* forbid that we should put

out mens eyes, and bid them stalk after others towards Heaven in the dark, so long as God himself hath both given them Eyes to see withal, and hath left them a plain *Rule* to walk by, and a strict command to observe it: A judgment of *discretion* to discern *truth* from *falsehood*, and *good* from *Evil*, by such light as God hath given them, must be allow'd to all, if we will allow them to be *Men* and not *Brutes*. Only let not this Universal Priviledge be abused to *Strife*. And that it may not be so, take these *Directions*.

1. *Have not the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory with respect of persons*, Jam. 2. 1. These words of the *Apostle James*, whatever interpretation they admit of as there used, I may thus accommodate to the present matter. Let not the *Enmity* or *Prejudice* you have taken up against any man or party, nor yet the good *opinion* you have conceived of, or great *affection* for any such, byas or over-rule your search after the *truth*; let them not corrupt your Judgment, nor be your *Motives* to embrace *some* and reject *other* Doctrines. But impartially weigh them all in the Ballance of the Sanctuary, and choose them by their own weight. Use men you may and must, as far as you need them, as helps to your own weakness: but consider their *reasons* not their *persons*, and what *help* you have by them, not what *opinion* or *affection* you have had for them; lest you run into an Error not unlike that you condemn in the *Romish Church*, of pinning your *Faith* upon your *Friends* sleeve. For tho you thus may chance to hit upon the *truth*, yet shall you be found herein to act through *Strife*, and that infecteth even your believing of truth it self with sin.

2. Take heed of *doting about Questions and Strifes of words, whereof cometh Envy, Strife, Railings, Evil Surmisings, Perverse Disputings of men of corrupt minds,* 1 Tim. 6. 4. See that they be not things *unprofitable and vain,* Tit. 3. 9. that you are so earnest about. Were all *word-bickerings*, and *impertinent disputes* laid aside, we should soon see *controversial Divinity* reduced into a much narrower compass. Weigh well the matters in debate, and be sure there is something in them that will quit cost, and pay you well for your pains. Take heed, if the *contention* be but about a little *straw*, and things of very little or no concernment to mens *Souls*, or the good of the *Church*, that your *zeal* grow not too hot; lest you set all on fire, and burn down the House over your heads. Especially beware of that most unreasonable but very common disease of most wranglers, fighting about *words*, whilst you are agreed in the *things* themselves, and see it not for the much dust that flies in your eyes by your bustling about nothing.

3. Search for the *Truth* always, and that purely for the *Truths* sake, and the usefulness of it. To find out *Gods Will*, and not something that may suit with your *own wishes*, should be your design. That whereby *God* may be glorified, the *World* benefitted, your *Souls* saved, not your *humours* pleased. Some men seem to take great pains to search for the *truth*, as before-hand resolved to hold it no longer, or at least, not much to regard it, when they have found it upon any other account, then that they see some others hold an *Error*, whom they may be able to oppose with it: they value the *truth* for nothing so much, as for this, that it is a Warrant for the exercise of their faculty of *wrangling and contradiction*.

4. Search

4. Search the *Scriptures* sincerely and reverently as the Sacred *Oracles* of life, not being *partial* to any *opinion* which you have already taken up by chance, and are fallen in love with. Take heed of wresting and forcing the words of *Scripture* to comply with your present *Sentiments*; or of picking out here and there a broken piece of a Sentence to patch up your own thoughts withal; or how you judge of the sound of the words you hear, by the sound that already rings in your ears. Go to the *Scriptures*, as to the Fountain of saving truth, resolving to fetch both your *Opinions* and your *Practice* thence, and to correct whatsoever is at present amiss in your self by them. This is to give God his due honour, and to let him be the sole Lord of your *Faith*.

5. Content your selves with the most plain, easie, and obvious Truths; for those are also the most necessary and least subject to *disputes*; and meet with least opposition on any hand, except it be from mens *Lusts*, and against those you have liberty to contend with all your might, so it be in your own *Place* and *Station*, and with *Christian Charity*. Remember always that in the *Scriptures* there be some things hard to be understood which the unlearned are apt to wrest to their own and others destruction, 2 Pet. 3. 16. And in the interpreting whereof the most Learned think it both their *Wisdom* and *Duty* to be very modest. How hard would it be for *Christians* to disagree, would they rest in plainly revealed Truths, which all good *Protestants* are agreed to be all things necessary to the *salvation* of sinners. And how unreasonable a thing is it, when we are all agreed in these, to strive even to the jussling of one another or our selves out of the Church, about those things whereof men may be safely ignorant, and it may

be ten to one, whether one of ten ever understood.

6. Have you found something, which seemeth to you to be a *truth*, whilst yet the greatest and most Learned part of the *Christian* World, and particularly of the *Church* wherein you live, thinketh it an *Error*? Set not your selves presently, as some *Novices* use to do, in the *Pope's Chair*. Remember you are at best, but *fallible* men, and should learn to be *wise unto Sobriety*. Love not to be troublesome to the World with your pretended *Knowledge*, neither be angry that all mens Judgments will not bow to yours. *Hast thou Faith? have it to thy self before God*, Rom. 4. 22. Think it not a duty in you, to make all the World know what you think you only know, or the duty of all men to learn of you. A good and humble *Christian* will satisfie himself in approving himself faithful to God and his own *Conscience*, and will always have the *Modesty* to think, that many men in the World are *wiser* then he: and for this reason he cannot think it fit for him, either to *pride* himself in his singular opinions, or to *vent* them every where to draw *Disciples* after him, to the breach of the *Churches Peace*. We have a command indeed that *our light so shine before men that they may see our good works, and glorifie our Father which is in Heaven*; but where is the command, to vent our opinions, that they may see our *Wisdom* and glorifie us upon Earth? Thus much concerning opinions.

2. Now to that part of the *Question* relating to the commands of *Superiours*, we may say again more generally, That it is a most certain truth, *That we must obey God rather than men*, Act. 5. 29. And that we are bound to use all the means that God hath put within our reach to be *fully persuaded in our minds*, touching

touching the *lawfulness* of every Action we go about, be it *commanded* or *uncommanded* by our Superiours, Rom. 14. 5. And we are well assured by the *Apostle*, That *whatsoever* is *not of faith* is *sin*, Rom. 14. 23. And therefore no man ought to be debarred the liberty of securing his own Soul as well as he can, by examining the *lawfulness* of the things commanded. Only let this again be done without *Strife*. That is to say,

1. Make it manifest by your *ready* and *unforced* Obedience in all things, of the *lawfulness* whereof you are already satisfied, that your *disobedience* in other things, wherein you are not yet satisfied, is purely for *Conscience* sake, and not through *Strife*; but that as you *obey* cheerfully for the *Lords* sake, so if in any thing you *disobey*, 'tis purely for the *Lords* sake too. If this course had been taken in time by some men, they might, it is probable, at this day have seen the *Wisdom* as well as *Justice* of so doing. He that with-holdeth *obedience* upon pretence of *unlawfulness* only, must needs *obey* in all things which he granteth to be *lawful*, or else he utterly voids his own pretence, and declares himself more a lover of *Strife* than *Conscience*. Whereunto then we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing, Phil. 3. 16.

2. In examining the *Commands* of Superiours, make it not your business to seek out something which you may with some colour for your *disobedience* oppose against them, when you see before-hand no apparent reason, why you should not obey them. He that seeing no cause why he should not *obey*, goes to seek for one, sheweth plainly his affection to *Strife*, and that the reason of his *disobedience* is not *unlawfulness* but *wilfulness*. Take heed therefore

how your enmity to the *Government* send you a hunting for something to make the *Commands* of your *Governors* seem disputable.

3. Be well contented to be satisfied in your own *Consciences*, concerning the *unlawfulness* of what is enjoined by publick *Authority*, and being so satisfied, take heed of two things :

1. That you be not too forward to *Judge* or *Condemn* those that are otherwise perswaded, and think it to be their duty to do, in *obedience* to their *Governors*, what you dare not do. It is an uncharitable censure to say, that others act against their own *Consciences* as often as they will not be over-ruled by your *Judgments*, or cannot be convinced by your *Arguments*. Too much of this Spirit of *Strife* and rash censuring seemeth to shew it self in some late *Writings*, wherein the Authors forgetting what they promised, a bare *Vindication* of, or rather *Apology* for themselves, fall into a down-right *Accusation* of others, even to that degree, as to deny them all possibility of satisfying their own *Consciences* in what they do. I do not see whither such things as these can tend, whatever was the intention of the *Writers*, but to the gendering of *Strifes*, which I would fain hope them to be better Christians then to make their design. However let us study that healing Rule the *Apostle* giveth, *Rom. 14. 3.* Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not ; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth. Who art thou that judgest another *Mans* *Servant* ? to his own *Master* he standeth or falleth.

2. Do not make it your business to put doubts and scruples into the *Consciences* of others, to the disturbance of both their own and the *Churches* *Peace*. The Itch of making *Profelytes* to every mans private opinion

nion hath ever been as pernicious an evil to the Church of God, as that which is commonly said of men in the *Plague*, were it true, would be to the Neighbourhood, that a part of their Disease is a desire to *infect* the Sound. Think well how you have enough to do, in a doubtful case, to answer God for your own disobedience to the Powers, unto which he hath commanded to be *subject for Conscience sake*, and therefore can have no need to engage your selves in that hard task of answering for the disobedience of *many*, which they would never have been guilty of but through your perswasion.

I shall now only add a few things to conclude this *first* point. Seeing man is so very restless a thing in this World, and it is so hard a matter quite to root out of him this humour of striving, let us endeavour to cut a way for it into its proper Chancel, where it may run freely, and men may *strive* to good purpose. Yet by the way we must be warned to put away all *Rancor*, and *Malice*, and *Envy*, and *Wrath*, and *Evil speaking*, and all must be a *Sirise* of Love. *A man is not crowned, except he strive lawfully*, 2 Tim. 2. 5.

1. *Strive* we may then, and even for the *Mastery* to obtain the *incorruptible Crown*, 1 Cor. 9. 25. And shew us any thing else, that's truly worth the *striving* for. For this, let us all be perswaded to *fight* with all our might and courage, yet not with such Enemies as are the creatures of our own imaginations or opinions; we have Enemies enow to hold us doing, and put us to all our shifts, besides those; even the same, which we have engaged our selves in our *Baptism* to wage a continual *War* against, *Sin*, the *World*, and the *Devil*. He that knoweth what these are, knoweth he hath enough to strive against,

If we will have the *Crown* we must strive to overcome all these; this is to strive like a *Christian* indeed, and this is our encouragement, the *Victory* is sure, and it is a Noble *Victory*. Foolishly therefore do we waste our time, and our strength in contending with one another about *Ceremonies* and *Formalities*, where he that conquereth shall but like the proud *Emperor* triumph in *Cockle-shells*. Surely we think but little whither we are going, or from what we flee, and what *Enemies* watch for our ruine, if we can be at leisure to stand bogling at *Straws*. Certainly we shall all have enough to do, without casting such rubs as these strifes are in our own way, to come to Heaven.

2. *Strive together for the faith of the Gospel*, Phil. 1. 27. But if we will do this indeed, we must as the *Apostle* there also saith, *stand fast in the Spirit, with one mind*. A scattered and divided Army is easily vanquished by piece-meal, which in a full body might have daunted the *Enemy* with the very sight of its *number, order* and *unity*. We cannot choose but be sensible that our *Faith* hath very considerable *Enemies* at this day, and how can we invent a way to do them better, or our selves worse service, then by keeping open our divisions, which hath cost them so much pains to make amongst us? O how do they hug themselves to see us so industrious to save them a labour, and ruine our selves? Let us but be united amongst our selves, and strive together for the *Faith* of the *Gospel*, and we may confidently promise our selves what the *Apostle* there addeth, v. 28. *We need be nothing terrified by our Adversaries*.

3. Let the *Ministers* strive to preach *Christ*, warning every man and teaching every man in all *Wisdom*, that they may present themselves in *Christ Jesus*. Unto this

this let them labour, *striving according to his working, which worketh in them mightily*, Col. 1. 28, 29. How much livelier a work would this be, how much more befitting the *Ministers of Christ* set over the *Flock*, thus to feed and watch daily over the *Sheep and Lambs*, and combining together to keep them from the ravenous *Wolves* and wily *Foxes*, then to stand pelting one another with ill words only to make sport for the Adversary?

4. Let the *People strive together with their Ministers in their Prayers to God for them*, Rom. 15. 30. to this end, as it there follows, *That they may be delivered from them that do not believe, and that their service may be accepted of the Saints*. This would be a much more *Christian* and profitable work, then theirs of whom we read, Hos. 4. 4. *The People are as they which strive with the Priest*: whether it were, who should outdo other in wickedness, or to oppose his *Doctrine*, obstruct him in *Discipline*, or revile his *Person and Function* in all Companies.

5. Let us all *strive to enter in at the strait Gate*, Luk. 13. 24. And who should go on fastest in that *narrow way* that leadeth unto *Life Eternal*. *Exhorting one another, and provoking one another to love and good works*, Heb. 10, 24. And not strive to anger and vex and revenge our selves on one another by *unchristian* and even *inhumane* affronts and injuries.

6. *Strive against sin*, Heb. 12. 4. Let our earnestness against this common Enemy of Mankind be as great as can be. Here exercise all our wrath and revenge. Let us be very bitter against it, have no pity on it, resolve never on any terms to be reconciled unto it, or be satisfied with any thing less then its death. Let us strive to subdue it and mortifie it in our selves, and to correct it as we have opportunity in others.

It

It is a much better work this, than making sins of those things which are none, of indifferent things, or casting aspersions of Sin upon others for those very things whereby they labour all they can to shun all appearance of it in obeying their Superiors.

7. Lastly, let us strive who shall outgo others in love and meekness, and tenderness of affection, long-suffering, and forbearing one another in love, Eph. 4. 2. Putting always the best and most favourable construction upon all one anothers words and actions, and exercising all our severity upon our selves, our sinful flesh and lusts. Seeking how we may become all things to all men, that we may by all means gain some, 1 Cor. 9. 20. Not to a Party or Faction of our own, but to Christ.

Let this suffice to have been said of the former of these two things, which we are to remove out of the way, in order to the introducing of Peace and Unity.

2. The second thing which we are to remove and put far from us is *Vain-glory*. And till this be put away, strife will abide, the *Vain-glorious* man will ever be contending, thinking it the likeliest way to be taken notice of for somebody. This indeed is more usually the Vice of Teachers, then of Learners. Yet is there no rank of men which is not troubled with some spice of it: In speaking whereof we must shew, 1. *What it is*, 2. *Why to be avoided*, 3. *How to be cast out*.

1. This *Vain-glory* is a Disease of Mind, whereby a man swells himself up to what bigness he can in the sight of the World. Either he hath a very high conceit of his own Excellencies, and Perfections, and is concerned that they are not as much taken notice of by others, as they are admired by himself; and that

that all the World should not be as proud and fond of him, as he is of himself: or else, it may be, he is conscious enough of his own emptiness, and would make up what he wants of real worth at home, by the *Estimation* of others. *Praise* is the thing he thirsts for, and so he can get it, he cares not much what there is in him to deserve it. So he may but have a Name and Reputation of Wise, and Learned and Pious, and other ways gifted, and qualified above others, and as few are, and be pointed at by the Vulgar as he goeth for a *few-such*, he is well enough pleased with himself, whatever he be in truth; he can fall out with himself for nothing but his obscurity, and too little care to make himself known abroad, or rather to deceive all men into a good opinion of him by seeming something that he is not. And therefore all his Studies and Endeavours are bent upon this one thing, how to be *known*, and yet *unknown*; to have his *person* had in esteem and admiration; and his real worth unknown, lest the knowledge thereof should abate any thing of that *reputation* and *fame*, which he so insatiably thirsteth after. So he may be had in honour, and advanced to some height, he is well enough content; what tho the *Statue* be but of *common* Wood or Stone, and have nothing in it of the life of vertue, or any thing else that's good, yet it stands in a publick place, and is finely painted, and gilt, and all that pass by look upon it and call it a fine thing, and fools admire it, and that's enough. This is the thing in short.

2. Now why we must avoid this Vice of *Vain-glory*, we shall see cause enough, if we may but be brought to see, 1. *How odious it is to men.* 2. *How dishonourable to God.* 3. *How contrary to the Gospel-spirit.* 4. *How destructive to our endeavours and hopes,* and, 5. *What*

5. *What a Plague it is to the Church and the Peace thereof.*

1. It is certainly odious to men of what sort or complexion soever they be. It is a thing which no man can indure in any man but himself, and for which, more then for any one thing beside, good men are apt to fall out with themselves. The proud man, tho he can freely indulge himself in it, yet can least of any man see it with any patience in another, nor can he look upon him as any better then as a covetous man doth upon a Thief or Robber, because all praise and honour he accounts his own due, and thinks whoever gets it robbeth him of what is his. He therefore is sure to condemn it in all men, if for no other reason, yet for this, that it stands, as *Alexander* did betwixt the *Sun* and the Proud Cynick, too much in his light, and will not let him look so shiningly as he would do. And the humble hates it because he is humble, and hates every thing that is sinful. So that all the *Vain-glorious* man can get by his foolish ambition, is only that, which above all things he abhorreth and most studiously endeavoureth to prevent, that is, when ever he is discovered, to be despised of all. But this is little.

2. Vain-glory is a thing most odious to God. How should any man think otherwise, that knoweth what God is, and what is due to him from his Creature? All Honour and Glory and Praise, because all Goodness is so, are his, and only his: and hence the *Vain-glorious* man is the most sacrilegious man in the World, and a greater Robber of God, then they that rob him of Tithes and Offerings, taking to himself the honour and glory due unto God's name, whereof he hath declared himself to be very jealous. The *Vain-glorious* man may be called an *Idolater* without a figure, making

king an *Idol of himself*, and desirous that all the World should worship him. This we are plainly told, and that's enough, *God resisteth the Proud, but giveth grace to the humble*, 1 Pet. 5. 5.

3. How contrary *Vain-glory* is to the Spirit of the Gospel is so visible, as nothing can be more. Our holy Jesus hath more particularly commended his own example to our imitation herein, *Learn of me*, saith he, *for I am meek and lowly of heart*, Matt. 11. 29. He sought not his own glory, but the glory of him that sent him, Joh. 8. 50. 7. 18. He took especial care to prick this Bladder in his Disciples as soon as he espied it beginning to rise in any of them, as in the Sons of Zebedee, Matt. 20. 25, 26. Self-denial was one of the principal Lessons he taught them, and he hath left it upon record for our instruction, that one great reason why no more believed on him and became true Christians was this, that they received honour one of another, and sought not that honour that cometh from God only, Joh. 5. 44. And loved the praise of men more then the praise of God, Joh. 12. 43. Now saith St. Paul at the 5th v. of this Chapter, *Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus*. What that was he tells us, v. 7. *He made himself of no reputation, but took upon him the form of a Servant, and humbled himself*. If we will then be the followers of Christ, and walk worthy of his Gospel, this is the mind we must be of.

4. It certainly blasteth all our very best performances, and destroyeth all the hopes we had of a blessing upon them. Even all those otherwise Pious and Charitable Acts, which done in love and humble obedience are most highly acceptable to God, and have his sure promise of an everlasting reward, such as are Fasting, and Prayer, and Alms-giving, when thus Phari-
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risaically performed for ostentation and to be seen of men, must all be content to take up with that poor, airy, pittiful thing, the plaudise and praise of a few sinners, instead of the approbation and reward of God, that, *well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord*, Matt. 6.

5. Lastly, how this *Vain-glory* pestereth the Church of Christ, and disturbeth daily the Peace of it, is a thing needless to shew in many words. It hath reigned too long in the World to have the innumerable mischiefs it hath done in the Church of Christ in all Ages, concealed from any observing man. When once any man is infected with this disease, he groweth restless in himself, he longeth to go abroad, and to become popular, to be called *Rabbi*, and thought a wise man in his generation, a *Master* in Israel; and then *Conscience* must be laid aside of necessity, as a thing which would mightily disturb him in his way to glory, tho a pretence to it, and to a very great tenderness of it, must by no means be made away, for that's the best staff he hath to lean upon. Such men always think themselves too much hid in the Crowd of ordinary Christians; alas, what reputation and honour can it bring them to do, or speak, or write as other good Christians do? Or what glory can come of living by the same common rules, whereby the whole body of Christians are to be governed, tho they be such as Christ himself hath given? They are not only Papists that affect works of Super-erogation. The man that will be *Famous*, must resolve to step out boldly before the rest, and attempt something that others dare not do, venture to be singular in some new Doctrine or Practice, that men may take particular notice of him, and admire his *Wisdom* or his *Courage*, saying, Shew us another man that could

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or *durst* do this: Nor can such an one be long without Company, he that cannot have the honour of the *first invention*, will strive for that of the *first approbation*, thinking it some praise to be first able to discern the Wisdom of a wiser than himself. Men will rather be content with a *fame* at second hand than want it. And if he cannot maintain the Novelty by dispute; yet is it possible, he may soon be taught a Catalogue of bad names, and when he hath them once on his Tongue, whether he understand them or not, he can bestow them as freely as another upon any thing he is bid to shew his dislike of; especially on those *dull Souls* that can so contentedly go on in those beaten Roads wherein good *Christians* have so long walked before them. Should we take a view of all the *Heresies* and *Schisms*, which have troubled and rent the *Church* from its first Plantation to this day, it is very probable we might find most of them coming from this never-failing Spring of *Vain-glory*. I close this with those words of the *Apostle*, Gal. 5. 26. *Let us not be desirous of Vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another.*

Qu. Some may possibly here ask, Whether we *Christians* should be wholly regardless of our *Credit* and *Reputation* in the World, and unconcerned whether we have a good name amongst men or not.

An. To such we say with *Solomon*, Eccl. 7. 1. *A good name is better then precious Oynment. And rather to be chosen then great Riches.* Prov. 22. 1. Every man ought to be truly tender of his *Reputation*, even with bad men if possible, this affording him many special advantages of doing *God* better service among them. *Honour* and *Praise* are no despicable things, and they may be sought and upheld in due place as well as *Riches* and other *Earthly Blessings* with-

without offence to God or Man. Let us only take heed that we take the right course to do both, and secure to our selves the true honour of really *being*, and not *seeming* only wise and good, and all will be well. To this purpose take but a few Directions.

1. See that God have his due *honour* intirely to himself, and let us be content with ours as it shall fall unto us. Let our principal care be to seek the *honour that cometh from God only*, and to have his approbation and *well done* in every thing, and we shall hardly want so much as is due unto us, or at least is fit for us, from men. To *honour God* is our great duty, and our great incouragement is this, *Them that honour him, he will honour*, 1 Sam. 2. 30. Whether and how far we shall be *honour'd* of men, whilst we are doing our duty, the only thing to which it can belong, let us leave it to God, that ordereth all things. *By humility and the fear of the Lord are riches and honour, and life*, Prov. 22. 4. If he give them, praise him, and return all we receive unto him: if we want the honour men should give, let this suffice us, that we can approve our selves unto God, *By honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report*, 2 Cor. 6. 8.

2. Having made sure that God have his *honour* from us, and from all men as far forth as it is in our power to promote it. Let us use the proper means to gain and keep up a good reputation among men; yet not so much for our *own* sakes, as for *Gods* and *theirs*. Let us conscienciously do our duties, every man in his respective place and calling, by this means we shall be sure either to get a *good name*, or not to *deserve* a *bad* one. A good name thus gotten is very valuable, because it may be very serviceable to us to many good purposes, both in relation to

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God whom we serve, and to other men with whom we have to do, and to our selves as an encouragement to greater Alacrity in our duty. But let us be ware of these things.

1. How we make our *own* reputation the principal motive or end of what we do, for this is to seek our own honour more than Gods, and to rob him of the honour due unto his name.

2. How we seek to raise up to our selves a *name* by any *sin* or *wickedness*, or an *hypocritical* shew of Piety, for this were to build our reputation upon Gods dishonour.

3. How we endeavour to build our *own* reputation upon the ruine of *another* mans, for this is a sin against both the *Justice* and the *Charity* which we owe unto all men.

4. How we abuse our *reputation* amongst men to the countenancing of *Faction* and *Sedition*, or any evil thing whatsoever. In short.

Let our *own* glory always stoop and veyl to the Glory of God, the Edification of the Church, the Peace and Tranquility of State, the subjection which we owe to our Superiors, and the good of our Neighbours, and it shall be no *Vain-glory*.

How both these, *Strife* and *Vain-glory*, are to be cast out, we must learn by the second Rule given us in the Text, of which we are now to speak.

II. In *lowliness* of mind, let each esteem other better than themselves. Such a measure of *Humility* as will make men esteem others better than themselves, will by rooting out *Strife* and *Vain-glory*, settle the Church in a blessed Peace.

How this Doctrine will be entertain'd and practised in this *prond* Age, God alone knows, and to him we must leave it, when we have done our endeavour.

your. Our Task at this time is, 1. *To lay down a brief Description of the Grace commended, lowliness of mind.* 2. *To shew its great Efficacy for the rooting out of Strife and Vain-glory, the two grand Enemies to Love and Peace.* And, 3. *To declare the Practice of it in esteeming each other better than our selves.*

1. The Grace or Vertue which is here commended to us is *Humility or lowliness of mind.* A Grace which abundantly commends it self, and engageth the affections of all that see it, wherever it is ; but as all things of greatest worth commonly are, almost as rare as it is excellent. One most illustrious *Example* of it we have to imitate, which, were its worth unknown, is enough to commend it unto all *Christians*, and if it do not so, they are not *Christians*, whatever they are pleased to call themselves. Look upon the whole *Life and Death* of him who came to be the *Saviour* of the World, *Jesus Christ* ; and you see this Divine Vertue expressed to the life. How wonderful then must it be, that it should be so great a stranger in the *Christian World*, and so few that bear the name of *Christ* have any intimate acquaintance with it ? Tho all commend it in others, yet few labour to find it in themselves. *This is it.* An holy frame and temper of Spirit whereby a man doth most heartily give all honour possible to *God*, as much as is due to every man, and is content with a very little for himself. It wholly emptieth him of all Self-conceit, checketh in him all aspiring thoughts, maketh him truly sensible what he is, and teacheth him not to think of himself above what he finds himself to be, and to be content although others shall think him to be much less than indeed he is. The humble man is very much in considering himself to be the *Creature of God*, and to depend wholly upon him, and to have nothing

nothing at all but only what it had pleased God to bestow upon him. He considereth yet farther that he is a *Sinner*, and that he offendeth *God* daily, and serveth him at best very imperfectly and weakly, that he hath often abused *God's* Goodness, and is thereupon become less than the least of his Mercies: he acknowledgeth that his *wants* and *infirmities* are much more than his *Abilities*, and that there is hardly any Creature of *God*, but doth now, as he is a sinner, excel him in something, at least, in *innocence*; and that in one respect or other he stands in as much need of them, as any of them do of him. He remembreth how unable he is of himself to help himself to any thing that is *good*; either for his *Soul* or *Body*, without the assistance and blessing of another. And now considering all this, and much more to this purpose, his own *Glory* vanisheth from his sight, he entertaineth low and just thoughts of himself, as a *poor*, *weak*, *wicked*, and for that, a very contemptible Creature, that can deserve nothing at the hands of *God*, not do either *God* or his *Neighbours*, or *himself* any considerable part of that *service* which he ought to do. He looketh upon all that he hath as anothers free gift and bounty. He looketh upon all that he doth or can do in relation to *God*, his *Neighbour*, and *himself*, as imperfect at best, and, without *God's* Blessing, *vain* if not *hurtful*. And hence, he looketh upon himself as a very *unworthy* and *useless* thing, but only as he may be an *instrument* in the hands of the *Great* and *Good* *God*, and may by the Power and Wisdom of his *Manager* be directed to something good. From hence it also cometh, that whatsoever this humble man hath, he holds himself, as a debtor to *God* for it, so also most unworthy of it, and it, whatever it be, too good for him; and can-

Not but admire *Gods* goodness and bounty to such a thing as he is, in permitting him yet to live. If he suffer any evil, he accounts it a very light thing in comparison of what he hath deserved to suffer, and therefore repines not at the greatness of his sufferings, but admireth *Gods* goodness still in dealing so gently with him, and blesseth him that they are no greater. Whatsoever he doth, if it be *sinful*, he taketh it all to himself, he owns the *shame* of it, and thinks of himself as a *sinner* ought to do: and if it be *good*, he blesseth *God* that hath enabled him to do it, and calleth nothing of it his own besides the imperfections of it, nor can he think any part of the World beholden to him for doing but a very little part of his duty in it and very imperfectly. Nothing that he either is, or hath, or doth, can swell him up with any proud thoughts of himself, but still he is less in his own eyes than he can be in any mans else, and accounts himself a very unworthy thing. This is a man of a lowly mind. And that this is a right Christian temper sufficiently appeareth from two things which I need but only name.

1. Because it hath so much of the Image of *Jesus Christ* visible in it, who made himself of no reputation, as before we saw.

2. Because it hath his Special Blessing resting upon it. *Blessed are the Poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*, Matt. 5. 3. Which I shall now suppose enough to commend this lovely Vertue to the Practice of *Christians*; and proceed to the second thing, viz.

2. To shew in a few words the Efficacy of this Heavenly Vertue, to drive out *Strife* and *Vain-glory*. And the thing is so obvious, that *this* and *this* only can do that work, that it seemeth even needless to say any thing

thing of it. For if *only*, or *chiefly*, as *Solomon* tells us, by *Pride* cometh *Contention*, then by what else but *Humility* can *Peace* and *Concord* come? The *proud* man knows not how to be *peaceable* except it be by the help of some other Vice, such as *Laziness*, *Covetousness*, or especially, *Cowardice*. And the *humble* man knows not how to be *contentious*, because he is *humble*. Alas, saith the *humble* hearted *Christian*, what am I, that any the least disturbance either in the *Church* or *State* should be made either by or for such a poor *Worm* as I am, or for a thousand such as I? He hath not such high thoughts of his own *Wisdom*, as to turn *proud* fool, and think that he may not be deceived as well as other men, or ought to be humour'd in his mistakes more then they, therefore is it alway far from him to commend his own *judgment* or *opinion* unto others as the true *Standard* whereby he would have them measure *theirs*. How great soever such a mans *knowledge* is, be sure his *modesty* is as great, and this will ever restrain him from making his *knowledge* a trouble to the *World*. He will heartily bless *God* for enabling him by it to do others any service in seasonable instructions and directions in their course to *Heaven*; but he hath no temptation at all by it, to obtrude himself upon all men as their only *Judge* of right or wrong. He is so far from an eager desire and hunting after the *praise* of men, and all affectation of *popularity*, that there is hardly any thing he more dreads, then the applause and admiration of the *many*; and nothing is apt to humble him more, by making him grow jealous of himself, knowing well how hard it is for a *Multitude* to agree in the approbation of what is good. He thinks every condition that the *Divine Providence* allots him in this

World so good, and indeed so much too good for him, as far exceeding his deserts, that he concludes it very misbecoming him to make any bustle to get up higher: and he is so well satisfied with the honour of *Door-keeper* in the *House of God*, or of sitting at *Jesus feet* to hear his words; that he hath no ambition at all to be called of men *Rabbi*, or to be esteemed some great one, and admired by the gazing Multitude. His mean and modest opinion of his own improvements makes him indeed very inquisitive and industrious to learn of any man that he thinks able to teach him those things whereof he supposeth himself ignorant: and he blesteth God for the opportunity, and both loves and honours his Teachers, and acknowledgeth by whom he hath profited: and if he attain to that competent stock of knowledge as may fit him to teach others, he doth it freely as the payment of a due debt, and he doth it as humility commands him, not scornfully and disdainfully, not proudly and imperiously *Lording it over mens faith*, but as an helper of their joy, 2 Cor. 1. 24. Not *Preaching himself*, but *Christ Jesus the Lord*, and himself their servant for *Jesus sake*, 2 Cor. 4. 5. Serving them in love, as the Servant of him that came not to be *ministred* unto, but to *minister*; ministering not to his own fame, but to the needs of mens Souls. His humble thoughts of his own merits, make him well content with the honour and respect that is bestow'd upon him be it never so little, and all his care is how to deserve that little better then he thinks he hath yet done; and to pay all that respect, honour and obedience which he finds owing from himself to others, willing to condescend to any thing that is not sinful be it never so low, for the good and quiet of that part of the World wherein he

he liveth. What am I (saith he alway) that for my sake or satisfaction, or the gratifying my humour or opinion, the publick peace should suffer, or any the least bustle should be made in the World? Thus it is impossible for *Strife* and *Vain-glory* to live where *Humility* reigneth, it will certainly pull down every high thing that exalteth it self against *Peace* and *Unity*.

3. Let us now see how this lowliness of mind is to be put in practice, and set on work, that it may effect this blessed and most desireable reformation, which we have all the reason in the World most heartily to pray for, and most strenuously to endeavour. And this must be its work, to teach us to *esteem each other better then our selves*. This is the work of *Humility*, but where shall we find *Humility* enough to do this work? *Humility* not only maketh a man *little* in his own eyes, but others *great*; teacheth him to depress himself, that other men may have the advantage of him. A *Work* this, of which I fear I may say, as was said of that, Act. 13. 41. *It is a work which men will in no wise believe, tho a man declare it unto them*. O that men would be perswaded to think that such a thing can be, as this *esteeming others better then our selves*. Indeed it is such a work as necessarily requireth the help of the mighty *Spirit of God*; mans proud heart will not down so low by any less power. But if we see not this effect of *Humility* in the practice of such as we take to be *humble*, let us not say that *Humility* cannot do it, but that there is not *Humility* enough to do it. Let *Humility* be *Humility* indeed, and it will do it. For this being its proper work, to make a man very *vile* and *bad* in his own thoughts, a little thing will serve if they have any so much as shew of *goodness* at all, to make others seem better. It needs not much *goodness*, that

is only to be thought better then what is thought *stark* naught. It is however a piece of *Self-denial* which every Disciple of *Christ* is bound to learn. And tho every man be a great lover and admirer of himself upon any very slender account *naturally*, yet *Christianity* will cast the Soul into another mould, and make us *new Creatures*, and then we shall be able to do greater matters.

But, say some, how is it possible we should esteem men contrarily to what we see them to be? And we cannot but be perswaded that we see many men much worse and wickeder than we our selves are, and to say that we think them otherwise would be to lie.

Well, suppose you think them, according to appearance, *worse* than your selves; have you done enough to assure your selves that it is not the want of *Humility* that maketh them appear worse? Are you sure that if you saw with the *humble* mans eyes, things would not appear to you much otherwise then now they do? Think not the *Apostle* here gives a *Rule* which no man can follow, but learn to be more *humble*, and perhaps the matter may prove very easie. Let us try therefore what *Humility* will do.

1. Consider we then *other* men, that they are either really better then we, or really worse. The one of these two they must be, except we may suppose them really in all points exactly our *Equals*, which if they should chance to be, it is impossible for us to discern it, and therefore humility will be sure to weigh down the Scale on their side.

1. If others be really better then we, there needs not much *Humility* to esteem them better; it is no act of *condescension* in us to account them as good as they are. 'Tis a debt we owe to *Justice* and *Truth*, to value them as much as they are worth, and in doing
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otherwise we should sin against *God* and *them*. Against *God*, by not honouring *him* in his *Gifts* and *Graces*, and so much of his *Image* as we discern in any one. And against *them*, in with-holding from them that which *God* hath made their *due*, the *pre-eminence* unto which he hath exalted them in any kind; in not honouring them whom *God* hath pleased to honour. We ought both in *obedience* to *God*, and in *justice* to *them*, behave our selves towards them as our *Superiours*, whom it hath pleased *God* to place above us. The reasonableness and equity of this I need not to spend time or words to demonstrate, seeing no man can be so void of reason, as not to think it *just*, that all real *goodness* or *excellency* should have a proportionable *respect* and *honour*, tho' all men have not (I may say, but a few men have) that *Humility* to acknowledge those *Excellencies* which are in other men. Nay such is the crossness and perverseness of mens *Spirits*, that instead of *honouring*, too many have wickedness enough to *envy*, *malign* and *calumniate* all such as they see above themselves in any *gift* or *Vertue*, *Place* or *Office* whatsoever. And whence is all this, but from the want of *Humility*, (shall I say,) or rather *Humanity*, and that confessed piece of *Justice* of *doing to all others as they would have others do to them*.

2. If *others* be not *better*, but really *worse* than we, yet if we could but once be brought to understand the work of true *Humility*, we should soon see, that it would teach us to think much otherwise of them, then yet our *Pride* will suffer us to do and that without doing violence to *truth*, or undervaluing any *Gift* which it hath pleased *God* to give us more than other men. Let us consider but these few things.

1. *Humility* will teach us to descend very low in-
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to our selves, and to discover very much evil in our selves which lieth hid from other men. It keeps the thoughts very much at *home*, and suffereth them not to ramble much *abroad*, to spie wonders in *other* mens houses to talk of, and busie themselves with, when they should be observing the *Slut-holes* and *dirry* corners of their *own*. The *humble* mans eye is very much fixed upon his own sins, infirmities and failings. And when at any time he takes notice of his *own* good qualities, of what kind soever they be, as it is his duty to do, it is not his business to make comparisons with others, to see how much he excelleth *them*, but to compare *himself* with *himself*, and observe how much he is improved in Grace and Knowledge, and how much better these have made him then formerly he was; and this carries his Meditations up to God in the first place, in praise and admiration of his infinite goodness who hath done so great things for him; and *next*, unto the *use* and *end* of these qualifications, how they fit him to serve God and the *World*. But nothing of this can he consider without exercising his *Humility* in reflecting on his *own* unworthyness, the thoughts of his former unworthyness serve him to heighten his admiration of, and thankfulness for Gods bounty to such a sinner, and the thoughts of Gods goodness in thus enriching him lessen his esteem of *himself*, and bring him to a deeper degree of *Humility*, whilst he thinks with himself, how little he answereth the end of so much goodness, and how little good in the *World* he doth in respect of what God hath fitted him with ability to do. Thus he never wants work enough at *home* for his thoughts to busie themselves, so that they have but little leisure to search into the failings and weaknesses of his *Neighbours*: and when he unwillingly sees them,

them, they are apt to seem but *Motes* to him, because of the *Beams* in his Eye, his own sins, which he is apt so much to magnify, that the sins of others seem small things to him in comparison of his own; or he considers them only so, as to endeavour their *Correction* not their *Aggravation*. The *humble* man cannot be *vile* in any measure, but he will be more *vile* still in his own eyes. But this same *Grace*, and that other, which is never absent from it, *Charity*, directs a mans eye most unto the *Vertues* and *Excellencies* that are to be seen in others; which shine so much to him that for them he cannot see their *infirmities*. Their *Vertues* and *Goodness* of any kind he thinks it of some concernment to himself to see and learn and imitate, and to praise *God* for, admiring his goodness to others as well as to himself. But as for their *infirmities* and *failings*, they mostly concern *God* and their own *Consciences*; and his *Humility* teacheth him to leave them to *God*, and to take no further notice of them, then *Charity* and his place wherein *God* hath set him command: and these will never command us to think men worse then our selves, but to endeavour to make them better then they are. Thus *Humility* rendring our own faults, yea such as others would count none, very visible to us; and those of other men, either not at all, or so far only as they are of publick cognizance, reasonably moveth us to esteem them better then our selves. *Charity* reveleth a multitude of *saints*.

2. Suppose we next, that very many evils in other men do visibly appear to us, yet still many of our own will also appear, if we be *humble*; and in all likelihood many more in our selves then in them. And besides those many in our selves, which we daily observe, we know there be, and *Humility* maketh us think

think there are very many *secret* sins lurking within our hearts, watching an opportunity to break forth, and many that have privately broken forth and escaped our notice in the passage, which do not yet appear to us. So that how many soever the visible sins of *other* men be, yet still the *humble* man fears he goes beyond them in number and weight too. However, when the *humble* man comes upon any occasion to compare himself with *other* men, his wont is, not to consider *other* mens failings but his *own*, neither his *own* virtues but the virtues of *other* men. And as *Pride* teacheth a man to compare his *own* virtues with *other* mens vices, as the proud *Pharisee* did, that he may find something in himself to boast of: so *Humility* teacheth a man a quite contrary course, to compare his *own* vices with *other* mens virtues, that he may be yet more *humble*, and think himself with the *Apostle* the chief of *Sinners*.

3. We will yet go farther, and suppose that *other* mens Vices and failings may be much more visible to us than our own, and their apparent virtues by much fewer than our own; yet the *humble* man, when he comes to lay the one against the other, is always ready to cast in all the advantage, and make all the allowances to others that can be imagined. He can partly know, and as far as he can know them, he is sure to take into consideration all the numerous aggravations of his *own* sins, and is very apt sometimes to lay on too much weight, even till he press down his Soul almost into despair. But as he knows he cannot see into all the aggravations of *another* mans sins, being unable to see into the heart; so doth *Charity* restrain him alway from making any narrow search into them. And hence it is, that though *other* mens sins may be as visible to him as his

his own, so far as they lie open and obvious to the view of all men, yet shall his own be made always to out-weigh *theirs* in the aggravating circumstances which others cannot see. And again, on the other hand, the *humble* man considereth all the *opportunities*, *advantages* and *incouragements* himself hath had to be virtuous, and then all the good he doth, how much soever others value it, and see great cause to bless God, and love him for it, shall yet seem *little* and even *nothing* to himself, compared with what he thinks both might and ought to have been done by him. And as much doth his Charity prompt him to excuse the little he seeth done by others, by a supposition of the want in them of all those helps which he hath had. Thus therefore is he always saying to himself, What tho my Neighbours faults seem more than mine? What tho the good that he hath done seem much below what I have done? His *knowledge*, it may be is much less then mine; his *opportunities* of learning much fewer then I have had; his *natural faculties*, which is not his fault, may be much weaker; he wanted, it may be, the wise *Instructors* and faithful *Monitors* which I have never lacked; he met with many and strong *temptations*, and lay under many *difficulties*, which I have been in good measure free from: Were I under such *Circumstances*, I should, it may be, sin much more then he, and do less good then he: and were he in my *Circumstances*, had he the same *means* and *motives* and *opportunities* of doing virtuously, and lay under the same *restraints* from sin, it is probable he would do and live much better than I have done. Thus the *humble* man is very apt to blame himself, but any thing rather then his Brother. Yea rather then not esteem him better then himself, he will charge much of his evil upon himself, and say,

say, if he be wicked, it is much *my* fault; who have not done what I ought to make him good.

4. If the *humble* man be put to compare *his own* Vertues with *other* mens Vertues, and his *own* Vices with other mens Vices, (which it is hard to bring him to) he will set *Vertue* against *Vertue*, and *Vice* against *Vice* so long, that if it be possible by any means to bring it to pass, the Scales of Vertues shall ascend, and that of Vices descend on his *own* side. And thus will he argue for his Brother against himself. I excel him it may be in one thing, but for ought I know he excelleth me in many. I may possibly be free from some sins whereof he is guilty, but it is not unlikely he is free from many more that I find my self guilty of. If I be more sober, yet may he be more *Charitable* and *liberal*, and I by my *sobriety* do good to my self, but he by his *liberality* doth good to many. I may be less *prodigal*, but he is less *covetous* ; I may be less *careful* for the World, but he is more *serviceable* to the World. I may pray oftener and longer, but he *prayeth* more heartily. I may be more *zealous*, but he is less *censorious*. I may be more *chaste*, but he may be more *peaceable* ; I may be more *active*, but he may be more *meek* and *humble* ; I may be more *wise* , but still he is the *better* man.

5. If he can none of these ways give his *Neighbour* the *advantage* of himself, yet hath he not done, nor can he have done, till if possible, he do it. What, *saieth* he, tho I see little good in him, may there not be much that I cannot see? He *talketh* not so much of *Religion* as I do, it is his *modesty*, he is afraid of *Hypocrisy*, he is afraid it may become too *vile* by being made a *common* talk. His *Humility* is too great to let him shew himself too openly ; he is afraid to deceive the World into too good an opinion of him,

or give occasion to any man to over-value him, or
 lest by admiring his virtues they should be tempted
 to imitate his vices. I dare not judge him as bad as
 he seems, except I could see as far into his heart, as I
 can into his outward behaviour. Tho this be bad e-
 nough, yet there may be some spark of *Grace* within,
 that lying yet raked up in corruption, and by an *ea-*
siness of nature to comply with the customs of men,
 and an immoderate *bashfulness* to resist the temptati-
 ons of company, or a *timorousness* of nature to venture
 on the cross, and the like hinderances; or for want
 of good *means* and *helps*, is kept from acting and
 warming the Soul with true *Devotion* and *Piety*;
 yet it may in due time get life and strength and shew
 it self. And as I see not, what good there is within
 him, so neither do I see half that evil that
 is within *my self*, *the heart is deceitful above all things,*
who can know it? Yea every man is apt to be too
 favourable to *himself*, and too severe a censurer of
others, and it is safest for me to judge *my self*, and
 leave others to stand or fall to their own Master.
 There is nothing I have more cause to fear then a
spiritual Pride, *Publicanes* and *Sinners* are justified
 sooner than a proud *Pharisee* that despiseth and
 croweth over them. *Humility* stands more in the
 way of the sinner then of the conceited *Justiciary*.
 It will be seen at the last day who is *best*, he or I.
 Now 'tis enough that *God* knows it, who will then
 judge righteously. Be he *better*, be he *worse*, I am
 content he should *take place* of me in my own esteem.
 It is my duty to set *Strangers* above me in mine own
 house. I may lose something on earth by my *Hu-*
miliry, but *Pride* will certainly keep me out of Hea-
 ven. I may safely esteem *others better* then *my self*, till
 I can know both *them* and *my self* better then yet I do.

Thus

Thus will *Humility* teach us to *strive* who shall give place to the other, and if the *humble* man can really think others better than himself, he will; and if he cannot, yet he will do all that he can towards it, and that will, I suppose, satisfy the *Apostles* Exhortation, and will effect what is desired. If we be impartial in judging our selves, and not forward to censure others; if we be not more busie in casting out the *Mote* that is in our *Brothers* Eye, than the *Beam* that is in our *own* Eye, but more forward every man to reform *himself* then to find faults in *others*; we shall practise according to the Rule here given.

Having thus far seen how the duty is *practicable*, we may easily perceive how happy the *Church* would be were it duly *practised*. And indeed, although a truly *humble Christian* will hardly satisfy himself in doing less than all that hath been said; and tho it may be, nothing less than all this will serve to denominate a man truly *humble*; yet were something less than this well practised among us, we should soon taste the blessed fruits of such a practice. Suppose then that the *Apostle* by these words, *Let each esteem other better than themselves*, meant no more but thus. Either

1. That we should esteem, honour and love them better, whom we really think to be better. That we should not envy them, nor endeavour any way to lessen them in the esteem of men, nor strive to get above them, but let them enjoy without disturbance the respect and honour they deserve. What a happy change in the face of the *World* would even this make? *Preferment* would follow *Merit* and every thing would stand in its own place and order; there would be no jostling for pre-eminence, nor any thing

thing else but *strength and beauty* in the *Building of God*. Or suppose

2. That we should every one esteem our *Superiors* as our *Superiors*, and think them *better* only for this, that they are our *Superiors*. If this were all the *Apostle* meant, it would certainly very much avail to the *Establishing of Peace and Unity*. There would be no resisting; but an humble subjection for *Conscience sake*. And *Humility* would teach us either to rest in the *Wisdom*, or submit at least to the *Authority* of our *Governors*. The same grace that teacheth us to obey *God* both *actively* and *passively*, must teach us also to obey *them* that have the rule over us for the *Lord's sake*, *actively* where we *can*, and *passively* only where we must needs: and tho we could not see in them the *Image of God's Wisdom and Goodness*, we would at least see and reverence the *Image of his Power*.

3. Or suppose the meaning were, that we should do all things with that *quietness* and *humbleness*, as if we had every one a better opinion of the other's *wisdom* and *Piety* than his own, as a very *Learned* and *Pious Annotator* paraphraseth the words, it is too obvious how this practice would conduce to *Peace*, to need any farther explication. Or suppose

4. That all were but this, that we should every one look upon others as our *Superiors*, thus far at least that we owe them a *duty of Love*, and this is a duty that every man oweth to every man. Nor will this debt of Love be paid by any less than humbly condescending to promote their good, especially the *Eternal Good* of their Souls by any the *lowest* and *humblest* services we can do them. Were'this done indeed and were, your *humble servants* as much the

Language of the heart, as of the Tongue and Pen, we should soon all write our selves *Loving Friends* too.

O that we could all be brought to be more in love with this most charming grace of *Humility*, not as it is in others only, but chiefly in our selves ! How happy a thing would it be for the *Church of Christ* ? Where *Humility* reigns in mens hearts, (and it reigns not where it commands not a chearful subjection to all our *Governors*) it is impossible there should be any strangers to *love* and *peace*, or that there should not be on all sides a mutual and delightful administring to one another's comfort and happiness. There could remain no *Strife* about any thing, but who should be most *humble*, and most forward to serve his Brethren in *Love*.

I shall now close this discourse with a short *Exhortation* only, willing to leave a more particular application of the truths delivered to every man's own Conscience. Men may possibly be content, or else *compell'd*, to hear those things from the Monitor in their own breasts, which they are too proud to hear with patience from another. If there be any consolation in *Christ*, if any comfort of *love*, if any fellowship of the *Spirit*, if any Bowels of *Mercies* : If we are but so far *Christians* indeed, as to think any of these things worthy to be taken into serious consideration, let us fulfil the joy of all *Saints* & holy *Angels*, of the whole *Church Militant* and *Triumphant*, by our being *like-minded*, having the same *love*, being of one *accord*, of one *mind*. And that we may be so indeed, let us be perswaded by *St. Peter*, *To be subject one to another, and be cloathed with Humility*, 1 Pet. 5. 5. Let us once again think it the best fashion to wear that long disused *Livery* of a meek and
lowly

lowly Saviour : by this will God own us to be of his Household, by this shall we be known to belong to the Court of the Great King of Kings. Nothing can render us so beautiful in his eyes as *Humility*. He giveth grace to the humble, Jam. 4. 6. With the lowly is wisdom, Prov. 11. 2. It is better to be of an humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoyle with the Proud, Prov. 16. 19. It is the readiest way to that, which the proud man most aimeth at, but in his too much hast to it over-runneeth : before Honour is Humility, Prov. 15. 33. Thorns and Snare are in the way of the froward, Prov. 22. 5. But God shall save the humble person, Job. 22. 9. He heareth his desire, Prov. 10. 17. A mans pride shall bring him low, but honour shall uphold the humble in spirit, Prov. 29. 23. He that shall humble himself shall be exalted, Matt. 23. 12. For though the Lord be high yet hath he respect to the lowly, but the proud he knoweth a far off, Psal. 138. 6. What would we now have more to encourage us to the practice of this vertue ? We have here the promises of *Safety* and *exaltation*, of *riches* and *honour* and *life*, Prov. 22. 4. Of *respect* from God, his *presence* with us, and his *grace* to uphold us, and after all, the *Kingdom of Heaven* assured to the Poor in Spirit.

How is it possible after all this, that a *Grace* so lovely in the eyes of God and man, should yet find such cold entertainment amongst us ? O let us entertain it now at least ; now I say, when it comes as it were a begging to our doors and beseecheth us for *Christs* sake to lodg it in our hearts : let us entertain it, if it be but on this account, that some by entertaining *Strangers* have entertained *Angels* unawares : if we be not afraid of *Gods* Company, let us now open the doors of our hearts to receive it : for God

comes along with it: *He will dwell with him that is of a contrite and humble spirit, Isai. 57. 15.* Let us be no longer Self-condemned by commending in all men what we will not practise our selves.

Think but seriously what a World of *Mischiefs* we daily are haunted with, for want of this *Grace*. *Heresies* and *Errors* in the *Faith*, *Scisms* and *Contentions* of all sorts, both in *Church* and *State*. Had we more humble *Publicans* and fewer proud *Pharisees*, our *Prayers* and our *Persons* would be more accepted of *God*. But whilst so many of us stand *bragging* and *boasting* of being *godly* or *Orthodox*, instead of *confessing* and *deprecating* our *sins* and *errors*; whilst there is so much *pride*, *scorn* and *disdain* every where, and so little *humility*, *condescension*, *meekness* and *obedience* any where; whilst some cry out, we are the only true *Sons* of the *Church*, and others, we are the only dear *Children* of *God*; whilst some are too proud to *teach*, and others think themselves too good to be *taught*; whilst some *excommunicate* themselves to gratifie their own proud humours, and some as ready to *excommunicate* others, tho they own their *Authority*, for not also *humouring* their *pride*, or *espousing* their *private opinions*; whilst men are calling out to one another, *Stand off, for we are holier than you*; and many to their *Governors*, *Why stand you there? You take too much upon you, seeing all the Lord's people are holy*. Whilst men are continually calling for fire from *Heaven* upon one anothers heads, it is too sadly visible, that we have too little of the *Gospel-Spirit* amongst us.

And what is it we can hope to gain by this *opposing* and *resisting* one another, but that *God* should be provoked to *resist* us all, for he *resisteth the proud*, *Jam. 4. 6.* And it is more than our *pride* will leave

us any encouragement to hope for, if we be not made a Prey to those that will glory in our ruine.

Let us therefore all labour, instead of *censuring* and *gain-saying* one another, to close at least in this one grace of *Humility*, in the commendation whereof we are all unanimous. This will help to cover other mens failings from our eyes, and not only discover our own failings to our selves, but lay them open in penitent confession before God to be covered by the righteousness of Jesus Christ.

Instead of all the numerous Arguments and Motives which might (were it needful) be here made use of to perswade us, let it suffice to attend to that earnest exhortation given us by the *Apostle*. Col. 3. v2. &c. Put on therefore (as the Elect of God, holy and beloved (bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel [or, a complaint] against any: Even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye. And above all things put on Charity which is the bond of perfectness; and let the Peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which ye are also called in one body, and be ye thankful. Would we now be the Children of God, and beloved of him? then instead of Strife we must put on bowels of mercies, kindness, long-suffering, mutual forbearance and forgiveness. And instead of Vain-glory, we must put on humbleness of mind and meekness. Would we be perfect? We must put on Charity. Would we answer our Vocation or Calling to Christianity? We must be careful to keep in one body, and let the Peace of God rule in our hearts. Would we assure our selves of Gods blessing on us all as his Children? Let us not always stand complaining of what's wanting, or what it may be, our own peevishness only makes us think is wanting when

when it is not, but shew our selves heartily thankful for what by his blessing we have: *And the God of Peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the Sheep, through the blood of the everlasting Covenant, make us perfect in every good work to do his Will, working in us that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

Books

Books Printed for, and sold by *John Baker* at
the *Three Pidgeons* in *St. Pauls Church-Tard.*

- D**Uport in *Psalms* 4^{to} Cant. Gr. Lat.
Idem in *Psalms* 4^{to} Gr.
Idem in *Homericum* 4^{to} Gr. Lat.
Beveridge Gramatica Syriaca 80.
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AN ALARM

TO THE

PRIESTS,

OR, A

Message from Heaven,

To forewarn them of the dreadfull day of the Lord which will suddenly overtake them, unless by speedy and unfeigned repentance they return to the Lord.

With a Call to all people to come out of Babilon least they be made partakers of her plagues.

By a follower of the Lamb, one whose eye sees the down-fall of Babilon, and waits for the exaltation of Sion, *Tho. Ellwood.*

The Preface.

MAny, yea very many have been the warnings and admonitions which the Lord hath given unto the Priests of this generation, yet have they not repented and turned unto him, but have hardened their hearts against his reproof, and have gone on in their disobedience and rebellion against him; even provoking him to pour down his Judgements upon them, and utterly to cut them off from being a people any more for ever. Long hath he waited upon them, to be gracious unto them; and long hath he born with them, that at length (if it were possible) they might see and be made sensible of their great unkindness, and monstrous ingratitude wherewith they have continually repaid his great goodness and loving-kindness unto them; and yet how loath hath he been to stir up all his anger against them: how unwilling to destroy them!

And now once more hath he stretched out his golden Scepter unto them, and hath raised up his Spirit in the meanest of his servants (uttering his mighty voice through an earthen vessell, that all the glory may be unto himself) to warn them yet once more of the eminent perill
A which

which hangs over their heads, and will suddenly drop upon them, except they repent and return unto him. O that they would hear that their souls might live: for nothing but speedy and unfeigned repentance, can divert the wrath of God from falling on their heads.

The Lord hath in tender mercy unto them, given them a day to work in, but alas they have wrought the works of darkness; he expected they should bring forth fruit unto him, but they have been fruitfull in nothing but in doing evill. He visited them in his tender love, and would have gathered them under his wing, as a hen doth her chickens, but they would not. Hitherto they have slighted the many offers of his love unto them, and have not regarded the day of their visitation, but now their day fliteth away apace, and the short Span of time which yet remains to them, passeth away as a shadow, and will soon be gone over their heads, and then will they feel the Lord to be as just in punishing, as mercifull in so long sparing them: for he will arise in his might and visit them in his fury, and their place shall be found no more.

The persecuting Spirit is a notable badge of Antichrist. This Spirit hath all along accompanied them. They have run out of one form into another, and out of that into a third, and still this Spirit hath gone along with them. It appeared in the Bishops against the Non-conformists, it appeared in the Presbyters against the Lord's people here in England, and it appeared in the Independents against God's faithfull servants in New-England.

Antichrist hath long sate (and still doth sit) as God in the Temple of God (I do not mean in the outward Temple, although he sits there also) but now is the day coming, and the hour is even at hand, of the manifestation of the righteous judgements of God, upon all the wicked, and upon all the disobedient; and then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming. He that resisteth these things, saith surely I come quickly, Amen, even so, come Lord Jesus.

The Word of the Lord, which came unto me, even unto me his servant (as I lay in my bed, waiting upon him in his pure peaceable Spirit) saying, thus shalt thou say to the Priests of this nation.

Houl, houl you Merchants of Babilon, for the time is coming wherein none shall buy your merchandize. Houl and roar you children of Babylon, for your mother the false woman, the great harlot, the scarlet Whore shall shortly be stripped out of all her false coverings,

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out of all her harlots attire, and shall be discovered to the eyes of all people; nakedness and shame shall be upon her, and horror and torments upon all her children. Lament and mourn you sons of Belial, shriek and cry you Priest of Baal, for sudden destruction is coming upon you, and utter desolation shall speedily overtake you, except you speedily and unfeignedly repent, and turn to the Lord with all your hearts, from whom you have gone a whoring even from the least to the greatest: I say except you speedily repent, and turn from the wickedness of your hearts and hands, you shall utterly be cut off, and that right soon; for the Lord is arisen to fight for Sion, and hath stretched out his mighty arm, to deliver his people from the cruelty, rage, and oppression of all their enemies and persecutors. Yet a little while and the cry shall be, Babilon the great is fallen, is fallen, the fall thereof shall make a great noise, the sound thereof shall go through the earth, and shall strike terror to all those who admire and love her beauty: fear, amazement, astonishment of Spirit shall seize on all those that traffick with her; fire shall consume her inward parts, howlings and roarings shall be heard in all her quarters: the Priests (her Merchants) shall wring their hands for grief, and gnaw their tongues for pain and anguish; for now shall their trade be utterly lost, now shall their merchandise utterly fail them, the great Whore, (their mother) shall be stripped, and her nakedness shall appear to their shame and torment. Howl, howl you Idol-shepherds, for utter desolation is coming upon ye, yea, sudden destruction shall overtake ye, even as an armed man shall it come upon ye, and as travail upon a woman with child, and there shall be none to deliver ye. For thus saith the Lord God of power, I, even I will take vengeance upon ye, and will recompence upon your heads the reward of your doings, for you have erred from my pure fear, and have daily grieved my pure spirit, you have crucified the Just in your selves and in others, and have hardened your hearts against my reproof, refusing to let my people go, to worship me according as I have commanded them. How often, saith the Lord, have I warned ye by my Prophets, rising up early and sending them unto ye: yet have you rejected my counsel, and would have none of my reproof; but have dealt despitely with my messengers, bearing and stoning some, imprisoning some, dismembering some, and slaying others. Yea, you have often rebelled against me saith the Lord, and have even kicked the heel against me; you have sold your selves to all wickedness, and to commit fornication with the Whore of Babilon; you have run with delight into her bed of Whoredoms, and have greedily drunk down her cup of Fornications. How

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often saith the Lord, have you endeavoured to violate my peoples consciences ! How often have you exalted your selves against me, presumptuously attempting to thrust me out of my seat, & to make your selves Lords of mine heritage, by imposing laws upon my peoples consciences, which is my prerogative alone to do ! You have ravened from my spirit in your selves saith the Lord, and those that will not run to the same excess of riot with you, are even devoured by you. Lo, thus saith the Lord, you have blinded the peoples eyes, you have taken away the key of knowledge, you will not enter in your selves, and those that would enter in you forbid : you have set up Idolatry inwardly in your hearts, and outwardly also in your Idol-Temples : you have worshipped the Beast, and embraced the Whore, and are crept into a dead loathsome form and way of worship which she hath provided for you. And like Israel of old you offer unto me the lame, the blind, the imperfect Sacrifices, instead of sound, unsported, perfect, pure sacrifices, but away with your sacrifices saith the Lord, & put away your vain Oblations from before me ; for your Sacrifice of praise is abominable in my sight, the stink of your incense is loathsome in my nostrils, your offerings are unsavoury and irksome unto me, and all your praying and preaching your pretended duties and ordinances are a weight and a burthen upon my soul, and my spirit is grieved with them saith the Lord : therefore I will cast you off saith the Lord, even because of the wickedness that is found within your gates, and the blood of the Innocent which is found upon your skirts, and because you hate to be reprov'd, and strengthen your selves against me saith the Lord.

Consider this well saith the Lord, did I not cast off my chosen people the Jews for the same iniquities which are found to abound amongst you ? and shall I now spare you, O you rebellious and stiffnecked generation ! what are you better then Israel of old, that I should pass by that in you, for which I cast them off ? You have prophesied lies in my name, saith the Lord, you have run but I never sent you, you have spoken a divination of your own brains, you have stolen the Word from your neighbour, and therewith have you traded O you Merchants of Babilon You have devoured my people saith the Lord, and with feigned words have made merchandise of souls ; you have drawn away my people from my statutes and ordinances, which by the finger of my spirit are written in the hearts and you have brought them again under a yoke of bondage, which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear. You have carried my people captive into Sodom and Egypt, and have hindered their passage into the spirituall Canaan. You have defiled my living Temples saith the Lord, and joined them unto harlots, and are

crept into houses which the Beast set up for the Babilonish Whore to sit in.

Ah foolish people ! think you that the living eternal God will be worshipped in houses made of stones, or will be found there ? hath he not said that he dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, but the Temple which he dwelleth in is a living Temple, and the worship which he accepteth is in the Spirit and in the Truth ? but this Temple you have defiled, this worship you have apostatized from, you are gotten into the Whores Temple, and are worshipping the beast instead of the living God. O what shall I say unto you, you disobedient people ! What could the Lord have done for you that he hath not done ? Did he not about 100 years ago rend the thick vail of darknets (wherein the mystery of iniquity did then work) from off the eyes of many of your forefathers, and gave them a little glimmering of his light to walk in ? And did he not (as it were) take them by the hand, and lead them out of the City Babilon, the mother of harlots ; and gave them his Spirit to be their leader ? but alas, they rebelled against their leader ; and having once despised and contemned the light in their own consciences, how suddenly did darkness (thick darkness) overshadow them again ! and then how quickly were they run back into the Subburbs of Babilon again ! yea, and prest hard to have entred the city again, and doubtless they had prevailed, had not the Lord in love and pity to them, overthrown them.

And after that the Bishops had had their day, and that the curtains of the night began to be drawn upon them : Oh how clearly did the Lord manifest himself unto many of you ! how did he open your eyes, and let you see the grossness, deadness and emptiness of that form wherein the Bishops had long held you ? O how did he raise up in many of you a Spirit of Prayer and of supplication, to groan and cry mightily for deliverance, and that the seed might be redeemed out of bondage, and from under the yoke of the oppressor ! And was there not in many of you a living, fresh desire and panting after God and the enjoyment of his presence begotten, and for some time preserved ? Oh why did you swerve from it ? did he not draw you (for then you were willing to follow him) out of Episcopacy, and give you his pure fear to walk in ? and did you not Vow to him in your hearts and before men, that you would walk in his fear and
be

be guided by his Spirit? O that you had so done) & did you not make a solemn Covenant both with God & men, that you would utterly abolish & extirpate Episcopacy? & did you not confirm that Covenant with reiterated Engagements, Protestations and Oaths? & will you now in the revolution of 20 years, wheel round about again, and take up a false rest in that dead, empty, loathsome form? Ah, *who hath bewitched you that ye should not obey the Truth?* what, do you not plainly see that it bends to its mother Babilon from whence it came? and will you run again into Babilon? were not your stomachs once burthened with Episcopacy, and did you not spew it up? and will you now turn back again and lick up your old vomit? Oh, do not so; do not so, do not run wilfully into destruction.

Oh the exceeding weight and guilt which lies upon the Priests of this Nation! for of them hath this people learned to break their Vows, to break their Protestations, to break their Engagements and to violate their Oaths; none so forward now to plead for Babilon, to fight for Babilon as they: they have drawn the people from serving the living God, and have caused them to serve strange Gods, even graven Images, fashioned with the graving tools of their own wicked inventions, and framed in the mould of their vain imaginations, one while they set up Episcopacy, another while Presbyterie; and he that will not fall down and worship the Image which they have set up, is he not forthwith cast into the fiery furnace of their cruelty and persecution? but for these things is the Lord coming upon them, and will pour out the vials of his wrath upon them; verily a day of sad calamity shall suddenly overtake them, and there shall be none to help or pity them.

Oh, the exceeding unutterable love which the Lord hath extended to this Nation! how often O you Priests hath the Lord warned you, both by his Spirit in your consciences, and also by his servants whom he hath daily raised up, and sent unto you to reprove your deadness and barrenness: but alas you have still gone on in your rebellion, and quarrelled with the messengers which the Lord hath sent unto you: they have either seemed to mean and contemptible in your sight to be taken notice of, or their message hath seemed too harsh for you to bear: and thus have you despised the messengers which he hath sent, and slighted the many offers of his love unto you. Oh how ready hath he alway been to shew down his mercies upon you! and how unworthily have you requited so great love! how gently did he at first shake the Bishops, and after that more roughly, before he quite overthrew them! yet would they not take warning. How many mild reproofs and gentle warnings hath he given to this people! yet are their hearts hardened. But now their day passes away apace, and the night approaches wherein none can work. Oh therefore while you have time prize it: prize the love of the Lord God: let his goodness overcome you. O return unto the Lord with all your hearts: *Lick low before him, embrace the rod:* and submit your selves willingly to his gentle corrections and fatherly chastizements: that the Spirit of the Lord you may feel in you as a fire, burning and consuming all the works of *41* knees, & as an hammer to knock down, & as a sword to cut off whatsoever

is contrary to his pure will. O I say, speedily repent you of your wickedness, *Cease to do evil, and learn to do good, for your moment of time will suddenly pass away, the Bridegroom will come, and the door shall be shut; and then though you knock and cry aloud, yet shall you not be suffered to enter; but your answer shall be, Depart from me you workers of iniquity, I know you not.* And it will not avail you then to say, Lord we have prophesied in thy Name; for hitherto you have prophesied lies, and have spoken a divination of your own brains, you have preached for hire and filthy lucre, and like a troop of Robbers have you murdered by consent; and in Babylon have you made merchandize of souls. And because of these things is the Lord arisen in Might and Power, to plead with you; therefore humble your selves speedily before the Lord, and return unto him with broken hearts, and contrite spirits. O turn in, turn in unto Christ the Light, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world; obey his Light in your own consciences, which Light is sufficient to lead you unto God: Follow the leadings and motions of his holy Spirit in your selves, and leave every one free to do the like; oppress not the consciences of any, but let all weights and burdens be taken off, and leave the people free to worship God, where, when, and how himself shall command them. And cease any longer to deceive souls, or to traffick any longer with the Whore of Babylon: for verily for these things the Lord God will visit, and if you willfully persist in your rebellion against him, you shall not escape the stroke of his Justice, but his indignation and fury shall break out upon you, and shall utterly consume you from off the earth. O you Priests, consider this thing, and be not stout-hearted against the Lord, neither reject the Message which he hath sent you: For behold, I call both Heaven and Earth, both Men and Angels to witness against you, that I have delivered unto you the Message of the Lord, which if you reject, his Plagues shall be your portion.

Babylon the great is falling, is falling, the Whore, the great Whore (with whom the Kings of the earth have committed Fornication, who hath bewitched the Nations with the cup of her Sorceries) shall be destroyed, and that ere it be long; her Scarlet coverings shall be torn off, and her flesh shall be burnt with fire; her Merchandize shall decay, her Traffick shall fail her, her children shall howl and roar, for grief and anguish of spirit shall come upon them; all her Officers and Attendants shall lament and mourn bitterly for her; her Priests and her Prophets, her Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Arch-Deacons, Deacons and Deans; her Parson, Rectors, Chaplains, Vicars and Curates, shall sit down and bewail for the destruction of their Mother, and shall sigh and lament for the misery that is coming upon them. For this shall be the judgement of Babylon, (saith the Lord) in one day shall her Plagues come upon her, death, and mourning, and famine, and she shall be utterly burnt with fire; for great is the Lord God who judgeth her. Her Merchants shall weep and lament over her, for no man buyeth her Merchandize any more, even her Merchandize of souls, wherein the greatly traded. *As a Milstone shall she be thrown with violence into the sea, and shall be found no more at all.*

And all those who refuse to be divorced from her, who creep into her bed of Whoredoms, and drink her Cup of Fornications, who reject the mercy of the Lord in this day of the manifestation of his tender love, who hate to

be reprov'd, who reject his counsel, and will have none of his advice, whose hearts are hard as an iron sinew, and whose brows are become as brass, who continue in their stout-heartedness, rebellion, and witchcraft against the Lord and his Anointed, and will not have him to reign over them, nor willingly suffer him to reign peaceably in others: I say, these who cling so close to Babylon, shall be made partakers with her of her judgements. They shall fall as she falls, they shall perish as she perisheth even from the highest pinacles of her temples shall they precipitately tumble down, and be buried in her ruine. Instead of her soft perfumed beds, shall a bed of torment be prepared for them; and instead of her sweet delicious potions, which out of her golden Cup they drank, shall the pure wrath of the Lord be given them (without any mixture of mercy or pity) in the Cup of his burning fury; the Vials of his Wrath shall be poured out upon them, rottenness shall enter into their bones, their memory shall rot, stink, and be loathsome unto the Nations round about them, and they shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy Angels, and in the presence of the Lamb forever and for ever; and the day hastens wherein this shall be accomplished: the Lord hath said it and it shall assuredly come to pass.

Wherefore thus saith the Lord, Come out of her, come out of her my people, *that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:* For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Make haste out of her, O people, and escape for your lives, stay not in all the plain, but escape to the Mountain, lest you be consumed; run no longer from hill to mountain, & from mountain to hill, wandering about like sheep without a shepherd; but escape quickly unto that Mountain which shall be established in the top of the Mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills. And take heed that you look not back; Remember Lot's Wife. Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go ye out from the midst of her, cast away from you all your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed, and make ye a new heart, and a new spirit; for why will ye dye, O house of Israel?

O ye Priests of England, hear the Word of the Lord concerning ye: *Wo unto ye, Wo unto ye from the Lord God, for you have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and are like to perish in your gain saying as did Core.* You drink of the best, and feed of the fat, but this know assuredly, that the fatted beast is for the slaughter; you clothe of the finest of the Fleece, and like greedy wolves ye devour the Flock; you cause the people to err, you lead the simple out of the way, & the blind into the ditch; you have blasphemed my Name, & defiled my Temples, joyning your selves unto Idols, yet you are not ashamed to lean upon the Lord, saying, is not the Lord amongst us, none evil shall come upon us? What! shall not the Lord visit for these things? yea verily, for these things will the Lord God visit, he will bring you down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with you in the valley of decision, and the slain of the Lord shall be many.

But peace shall be to Sion, and to the whole Israel of God, and there shall be nothing to make them afraid; for this is the Word of the Lord concerning them, Say unto the Righteous, that it shall be well with him; for they shall eat the fruit of their doing.

THE END

LONDON, Printed for Robert Wilson, at the Black-Spread-Eagle and Wind-Mill in Martins-Grand, 1660.

No. 75

A
CAUTION
TO
CONSTABLES,
And Other
INFERIOUR OFFICERS,
Concerned in the EXECUTION of the
Conventicle-Act.

WITH
Some Observations thereupon, humbly offered, by way of
Advice, to such Well-meaning and Moderate
JUSTICES of the PEACE,
As would not willingly ruine their peaceable Neighbours, but
act (in relation to that Act) rather by Constraint, than by Choice.

By THOMAS ELLWOOD.

Prov. 21. 21.

He that followeth after Righteousness and Mercy, findeth Life, Righteousness and Honour.

Cat. de Mor. Lib. 3. Dist. 15.

*Judici auxilium sub iniqua Lege rogato,
Ipse etiam Leges cupiunt, ut jure regantur.*

LONDON,

Printed, for William Skeate, and are to be Sold in George-yard in
Lombard-street, 1683.



A
CAUTION
TO
Constables, &c.

HAVING observed of late, that divers Constables and other inferiour Officers, have either run themselves within the danger of the Law, or brought upon themselves trouble of mind, by acting too officiously against their honest Neighbours, upon the *Conventicle-Act*, at the instigation of (that shame of Christianity, and Pest of Mankind) Informers; and considering with my self, that this Mischiefe for the most part happens through fear, occasioned by want of a right understanding what is positively required of them by that Act, what not: I thought I should do no unacceptable Work, in presenting the following Observations upon that Act, by way of Cautionary Information, to the view and consideration of such of those Officers, as are willing to act *warily* with respect to themselves, and yet *favourably* with respect to their peaceable Neighbours.

First then, be pleas'd to observe, That no Constable, or other Officer, is bound to be an Attendant upon an Informer, to be at his *Beck*, and run like a Lacquey after him whensoever, or whethersoever he shall think fit to call him. The Officer is not obliged to

stay at home, to wait the Informer's coming : but is at liberty to follow his own Affairs, and to go whithersoever his own Occasions draw, or his Inclinations lead him. And if casually the Informer light upon him, either at home or abroad, and inform him of a Meeting or Conventicle within his Parish or Precinct, he is not bound to take notice of it, unless he take the Information to be credible. For that is the Word used in the Act in this very Case, *viz.* **Be it further Enacted, &c. That if any Constable, &c. who shall know or be credibly informed of any such Meetings, &c.** So that it is not every idle and groundless Information from *sorry Fellows of no repute nor credit*, the Officer is obliged to take notice of ; but such Informations only as are *credible*, (or his own knowledg) upon which he is required to act. And by his own knowledg here, isto be understood a *certain knowledg*, a *personal knowledg*, not a knowledg by Hearsay, Report, or common Fame only ; for that may be as little credible, as the least credible Information. The Officer then it seems, must have either a personal and certain knowledg, or such an Information as he shall judg credible, that there is an unlawful Assembly or Meeting in his Parish, before he is obliged to stir.

2. And if the Officer should receive a credible Information of such a Meeting ; yet he is not bound to wait upon the Informer to the place where he informs the Meeting is ; But the first thing that is required of the Officer by this Act is, to give in Information thereof some Justice of the Peace. And having done that, then in the next place to endeavour the Conviction of the Parties according to his Duty. For so are the Words of the Act, *viz.* [**Be it Enacted &c. That if any Constable &c. who shall know, or be credibly informed of any such Meetings, or Conventicles held within his Precincts, Parish or Limits, and shall not give Information thereof to some Justice of the Peace, or the chief Magistrate and endeavour the Conviction of the Parties according to his Duty ; But, &c.**] Instead of which, many Constables, and other Officers, are trickt in by cunning and swaggering Informers, to go along with them to Meetings, and there take Observations of the persons present (yea, and sometimes also to inform the Informer who the persons are, and where they live) and from thence wait on the Informer to the Justice, and so are unawares drawn in by the Informer, to joyn with him in swearing against their Neighbours ; thereby unadvisedly bringing their *quiet* Neighbours into *needless* trouble, and them-

themselves under the *foul* Brand, and *bated* Name of being themselves Informers also. Now all this is more than the Officers are obliged to do. 1. They are not bound to go with the Informer, to the place where he shall tell them there is a Meeting. 2. Neither if they do go with him, are they bound to tell him the Names, or places of abode, of any persons that they shall see there. 3. Neither are they bound to go *with him* to a Justice, nor yet, without him, to the *same* Justice that he goes to. But when they have received the Informer's information, leaving him to pursue his own projects, they are to repair to some Justice, or chief Magistrate (and it is in their own choice to what Justice they will go) and give him Information thereof, if they think it Credible. And although they are further required, after such Information given to the Justice, to endeavour the Conviction of the Parties: yet that is to be done but *according to their duty*. And sure it is not the duty of Officers to turn Informers. They would be very troublesome and thankless Officers indeed, if all Constables, Headboroughs, Tithingmen, Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor, should be bound by the duty of their Offices to turn Informers.

3. These Officers would not be so scared by Informers, nor terrified with the talk of forfeiting 5 l. if they did rightly understand and well consider how hard a thing it is, for them to be Convicted by this Act. The words of the Act are these, *viz.* [**But such Constables, &c. shall wilfully and wittingly omit the performance of his Duty in the execution of this Act, and be thereof convicted in manner aforesaid, he shall forfeit for every such offence the sum of 5 l.**] Observe here, the Officer doth not forfeit 5 l. unless he be convicted of omitting the performance of his duty **wilfully and wittingly**. And this Conviction must be made either by the *Confession* of the Party, or *Oath* of two Witnesses, or by notorious Evidence and Circumstance of the Fact. As to the Confession of the Party, that need not be: for *no man is bound to accuse himself*; and he has not much Wit, sure, that will, especially in such a case as this. The second way of Conviction is by the Oath of two Witnesses. But how is it possible for two Witnesses to swear (unless they be such as regard not what they swear) that the Officer did *wilfully and wittingly* omit the performance of his duty? Such Witnesses put their Ears in the Officers hands, as having a mind (one would think) to look through the Pillory. And indeed, scarce any would dare to swear
so

so desperately, that had not deserved the Pillory before. Then for the notorious Evidence and Circumstance of the Fact (the only remaining way of proof) how can it be thereby proved that the Officer did *willfully and wittingly*, omit the performance of his duty, when so many *just excuses* may be alleadged, as of Absence, Illness, Urgency of Business, Ignorance, Misunderstanding, and the like; all which, if the Officer fined, do appeal, a Jury of his Neighbours is to try. And besides, it is a Question among the Lawyers, how this fine or forfeiture of $\text{5} \text{ l.}$ can be levied upon the Officers, there not being in the Act, any particular and express direction for the levying of it; as there is in the other Cases, both of the Meeters and of the Justice: for it is not to be supposed, that the Officers of a Town or Parish, should levy the fine upon themselves; and if they do not, none else is required or empowered by the Act to do it.

4. If a Warrant under the hand and Seal of a Justice of the Peace, be delivered to any Constable, or other inferiour Officer, to levy any fines upon the Goods and Chattels of any person within his Limit, such Warrant ought to express for what Offence the Conviction was made, and at what time the Offence was committed; which if it do not, the Warrant is not *formal*, nor good in Law, to make a distress by.

5. But if the Warrant be *formal* and sufficient, yet the Officer cannot thereby justify the breaking open any dwelling House, or Out-house belonging thereunto, to take distress (no, not although the Warrant should expressly require it) as *the Opinion of able Lawyers is*: For a man's House is to him as a Castle of Defence, and so is every part or room therein. And therefore, as the Officer may not break or force open any Door or Lock to get into a man's House: so if, finding the outward Door open, he be got in, he may not break or force open any Doors or Locks, to get into any other parts or Rooms in the House, that are lock't; but must content himself with what he finds there. Neither may he climb over any Hatch, or in at any Window, whether it be the Shop-window or other: for the entering through or in at any Window, though open, is held by Lawyers to be *a breach of the House*: Nor is he bound to lie perdue, and wait continually at the Door to get an entrance; but may take such times and seasons for it as he shall judge most fit and proper: for he is not wholly to neglect his own Occasions to attend upon this. That were a way to ruine the Officers, as well as their Neighbours,

hours, only to enrich the Informers. But if, as often as the Officer comes, he shall find the Doors shut, and entrance upon demand denied him, and no Distress to be taken without Doors; he need not fear the penalty of forfeiting 5 l. or that he can possibly be convicted of **wilfully and wittingly** omitting the performance of his Duty in that respect. And besides, it is the Opinion of some Lawyers, that the penalty of 5 l. is not impossible upon the Officers for not levying the fines imposed upon others; but only for not Informing the Justices, and endeavouring the Conviction of the Parties according to their duty. And the Reason of such their Opinion is this, that in that part of the Act where the said Officers are authorized and required to levy the said fines, there is no mention of any forfeiture on their part, for not doing it. And in this part of the Act, where the 5 l. forfeiture is imposed, there is no express mention of levying the Fine upon others. It is said hereindeed [**If he shall wilfully and wittingly omit the performance of his Duty**] but the word [*Duty*] being mentioned just before, with particular relation to his informing the Justice, and endeavouring the conviction of the Parties, that wilful and witting omission of Duty, to which the forfeiture of 5 l. is annexed, must (say they) by intendment be restrained or applied only to the subject matter of that branch of the Act, and be extended no further than to the neglect of that Duty, therein particularly enjoined. But of this let Lawyers judge.

6. If the Constable, or other Officer, hath opportunity and open way to make Distress, yet he is not bound to take more than the Fine comes to; but he may (and indeed in Justice ought) proportion the Distress in its real value, *as near to the Fine as he can*. And when he hath so done, and taken such Distress into his custody, *he is not bound* to drive or carry, the Goods so distrained, to any Fair or Market, out of the Limits of his Constablenesship, to sell; for he is not to act any thing in relation to his Office, further than those limits extend (save only in some especial cases, where he is particularly necessitated, or impowered by Act of Parliament to go further, which in this Case he is not.) Nor may he *imbezil* any of the Goods, for he is accountable for every particular of what he hath so distrained. *Nor is he bound* to sell such Goods at under rates, and below the real worth or Market-price of such Commodities; but having offered them to publick Sale, and tried the Markets, Fairs and Chapmen, within his Liberty, if none will

will give a reasonable price for them, *he is not bound* forth with to sell them, but may keep them in hopes of a better Market. And if they remain unsold till he is out of his Office, if he then return them again to him from whom he took them, I know no danger he can incur thereby; I am sure I have known it done without any detriment to him that did it. But if he be not willing to return them, he will do well to consider how he can *justly* keep them (being out of his Office, and then but a *private* man) or *safely* turn them over to any other, without good security to indemnifie him, in case he from whom they were taken, should hereafter call him to account for them.

Some

*Some Observations upon the Conventicle-
Act, humbly offered, by way of Advice, to
such well-meaning and moderate Justices
of the Peace, as would not willingly
ruin their Peaceable Neighbours, &c.*

WHEN I consider the quality and qualifications of *Justices* of the *Peace*, how many of them are profess Lawyers, and how generally they are (or at least should be) Men of Learning and Knowledge, in those Laws especially by which they are to act; I am ready to with-draw my Pen and desist, out of a modest fear, lest it should be thought presumption in me, to offer Advice to them, who are so much better able to give it. But when, on the other hand, I call to mind, that many great and very wise men, have not disdained to hear, what some, as mean, it may be, as my self, have had to say, I am thence again emboldned to go on, hoping that what is so well intended, will not be ill taken. They that have suffered by this Act, and are still liable to suffer more, may be allowed to have looked *more narrowly* into it, than others, who are not under its lash. And if upon a thorow search, any thing can be found in the Act it self, which may fairly be made use of to abate, in any measure, the force of the blow which we lie under, I hope none will blame us, for modestly representing it to those, by whose hands the stroke is appointed to be given. And in this confidence I proceed.

Observ. 1. Since the Title of the Act; (which is not unaptly called the Key, because it opens the Intention and purpose of the Law-makers therein) and the Preamble of the Act also, describes the Assemblies and Meetings designed by this Act to be suppressed, to be *Seditious Conventicles*, and the persons against whom this Act was made, to be *Seditious and disloyal Persons, who under pretence of tender Conferences, have or may at their Meetings contrive Insurrections*; it seems

but reasonable that a Justice of the Peace, when Informers come before him, to inform against any person for being at a Conventicle or Meeting, may examine them, severally and apart, *what Token of Sedition they saw or heard in that Assembly*, which they inform against? If there were any Sedition there, it must appear in word or Action: and of that it may be expected the Informers should give Account. If there were *no Seditious words* spoken, *no Seditious Gestures* used, why should it be taken for a *Seditious Meeting*, and the persons punished for what they are not, nay, for what they most abhor to be? Besides it rarely happens but the Justice him self both knows, what sort of people they are that are informed against, and is more or less acquainted with some of them. Now if he be so, and upon his own knowledge of the Persons or their Principles, be perswaded and satisfied in his own Conscience, that *they are not Seditious or disloyal Persons*, that *they never have contrived Insurrections at their Meetings*; nor is it consistent with their Principle so to do; hath he not good cause then to reject such Information, and let such peaceable Meetings and Meeters alone, as not coming within the Intention of the Act?

2. Since that which the Act calls an Offence, is by the express words of the Act declared to be, *Any persons, of the Age of 16 years, and more in number than four besides the Family, being present at any Assembly, &c. under Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Religion, in other manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England*; and directs that this Offence must be proved to the Justice, either by *Confession of the Party*, or *Oath of two Witnesses*, or by *notorious Evidence and Circumstance of the Fact*: It seems reasonable that the Justice may put the Informers to prove every part of this Offence. For the Offence consists of many Particulars. The Offender must be *16 years old*; He must be a *Subject of this Realm*; (whence *quere* whether Scottish and Irishmen, though living in England, are not exempt) He must be one *above four besides the Family*; He must be met *under Colour or Pretence of some Exercise of Religion*, and that Exercise of Religion must be in *other manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England*. All these must go to the making up of the Offence, and the Offence so made up must be proved: and if *any of these* be wanting, or the Proof fail in *any of these*, it is then no Offence within this Statute. Now the *Onus Probandi*, the Burden of proving, this *lies upon the Informers*, and that with great Reason and Justice, according to the known Maxim, *Affirmanti incumbit*

cumbit Probatio; He that affirms must prove: And he must prove *all* that he affirms. But the Informers must affirm *every one of these Particulars*, in order to make it an Offence within the Act, and therefore they must prove *every one* of them also. 'Tis true, the Party informed against may by Confession convict himself, if he please; but it is at his own pleasure whether he will or no: And if he do not, the next way of Proof is the Oath of two Witnesses. And I conceive that if the Party should confess he was at a Meeting, and that there were more there present than four besides the Family, yet this would not subject him to the Penalties of the Act: for this he might be *justifiably enough*, unless he would also confess the others parts, *essential* to an Offence within the Act, *viz.* that he met there *under Colour or Pretence of some Exercise of Religion*, and that it was *in other manner than according to the Liturgy*, &c. Now as the Parties Confessing some parts only, and not every part of the Offence, would *not* Convict him of the Offence, nor Subject him to the Penalties of the Act: so neither will the Informers Swearing *some parts only*, and not every part of the Offence, convict the Party against whom they so swear, or subject him to the Penalties of the Act. As therefore it is but reasonable that the Justice should see due and full Proof made against the Party, in *every particular Branch* of the Offence, before he makes Record of it as an Offence, in order to convict the Party thereof: so it may reasonably be supposed, that if the Justices would hold the Informers *closely* to their Evidence, and examin them strictly and punctually concerning *their knowledge, in every particular of the Offence* they complain of, they might ease themselves of a great deal of trouble, and their honest Neighbours of a great deal of wrong. For how could Informers dare to Swear, that the Parties informed against, did meet *under Colour or Pretence of some Exercise of Religion*, and not *really and sincerely* in the Exercise of Religion? Or how could Informers take upon them to Swear, that that Exercise of Religion was *in other manner than according to the Liturgy*, &c. unless they were present the *whole* time of the Meeting, from the *very beginning* to the *very end* thereof (which they rarely, if ever, are) and heard and saw *whatsoever* was said or done there? And unless they themselves also better understood, than they commonly do, what is according to the Liturgy, what not?

3. Since by the Stat. 18. Eliz. 5. it is provided, that Informers for certain Offences therein express, shall not only *stand on the Pillo-*

ry, and be for ever disabled from being Informers more, but also, in some Cases shall pay unto the Defendant his Costs, Charges and Damages, and in other Cases shall forfeit the Sum of 10 l. It seems reasonable, that a Justice may demand an Account of the *Habitation* and *Ability* of any Person, that offers himself as an Informer; that so he may be satisfied of the Informer's *Sufficiency* to answer the Law, in such respects. And if the Informer cannot give the Justice a good and satisfactory Account of himself, there is no reason sure that the Justice should be obliged to take his Information. And since that Act of the Queen is still in force, (being made perpetual by 27 Eliz. 10.) I humbly offer it to the Justices Consideration, whether they ought not so far to take notice thereof, as *not to admit every idle Vagabond, and beggarly Runnagate* to be an Informer, who is so far from having 10 l. that some of them have scarce a pair of whole Ears, to answer the Law withal.

4. It seems very strange to some, that they should be convicted and never convened, be fined and not know of it (unless casually by report) till the Officers come to distrain for the Fine. This being a course so directly contrary to all Legal Procedures in all Ages, and condemned by the Practice not only of Christians and Jews, but of very Heathens also; gives the greater cause of wonder and amazement, that it should be used by any now. The practice of Christendom in this Case is well known. Among the Jews the Witnesses were not only to be present, but to lay their hands on the head of the Party whom they witnessed against, while Sentence was given against him, as *Godwyn* shews in his *Moses and Aaron*, l. 5. c. 6. And our Saviour Christ, when the Scribes and Pharisees brought a Woman unto him, whom they accused of Adultery, and then slipt away themselves; took that occasion to dismiss the Woman, saying, *Woman, where are those thine Accusers?* John 8. 10. *Doth our Law judge any man before it hear him, and know what he doth,* said *Nicodemus* a Pharisee, John 7. 51. For Instances are among the Heathens, not to search prophane Authors, the Scriptures tells us, That the Roman *Claudius Lysius*, when he sent *Paul* Prisoner to *Felix*, gave commandment to his Accusers to go also, and say before *Felix* what they had against him, Acts 23. 30. And *Felix* having received the Prisoner, told him, *I will hear thee when thy Accusers are also come*, ver. 35. And accordingly, when his Accusers were come, he brought them Face to Face, Chap. 24. 2. & ver. 8. 19. And indeed, *Paul* seems to claim

it as his Right, when speaking of certain Jews of *Asia*, (that were the first Occasion of his Trouble, Chap. 21. 27.) he saies, *who ought to have been before thee, and object, if they had ought against me*, Chap. 24. 18. 19. And he might well claim it as his Right, since it was according to the Roman Law, as *Festus* answered the Jews; *It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused, have the Accuser face to face, and have Licence to answer for himself concerning the Crime laid against him*, Chap. 25. 16. And surely our Laws in general require the same. Nay, in this Act it seems to be plainly intended, that the Party accused or informed against, should be first summoned to appear before the Justice to whom the Information is given, to be examined by the Justice concerning the Offence charged against him, and to make answer for himself. For the first way of Proof appointed by the Act for the Conviction of the Party charged, is *his own Confession*; and that must be made before the Justice: For the Words of the Act expressly are, *[Upon proof to him made of such offence, either by confession of the Party, or Oath, &c.]* So that the Party ought first to be convened before the Justice, and examined touching the alleadged Offence, in order to his Conviction. And this seems regularly to be the first step towards the Conviction. If the Party accused confess the Offence, there needs no other Proof; that is sufficient. If he deny it, or do not confess it, in whole, or in part, then (and not till then) is other Proof needful: Then the Oath of two Witnesses is required. Moreover, in that part of the Act which directs the Preachers Fine, in some Cases, to be laid upon others, it is said, *If he be a Stranger, or is fled and cannot be found*; which implies he ought to be sought after, and found (if it may be) before any Fine on him, or on others for him, be set. Again, (saies the Act) *Or if in the judgment of the Justice, before whom he shall be Convicted, he shall be thought unable to pay, &c.* This again implies he should be brought before the Justice: for how should the Justice be able to judg of the ability of one he never spake with nor saw? So that by many strong Implications it appears, that by this Act, as well as by the general course of all Laws, the Party accused ought to be sent for before the Magistrate to whom he is accused, that he may know his Accusers, and have liberty to make his defence, before any penalty be inflicted on him. And if upon his being summoned before the Justice, and denying, or not confessing the Charge, the proof must be made by the Oath of two Witnesses: surely, methinks both Law and Reason will perswade, that those Witnesses ought to depose their Evidence in the pre-
sence

sence of him, against whom they bear Witness. For besides that it would be an *aw* upon the Witnesses, to be the more wary what they swear, and more careful to speak the truth, when they see him present who they know can contradict them, if they speak not the truth; The Law, as I take it, gives liberty of exception (upon sufficient ground) against a Witness; which liberty I am deprived of, if the Witnesses Depositions be taken in private, and I not suffered to be present to hear what it is that is deposed against me, or see who they are that depose it. Had I been present, I might haply have assigned such *lawful exception* against the Witness, as might have taken off the Evidence, and acquitted me: or if not so, yet who knows but my presence might have prevented the Witnesses from *forswearing themselves* against me. However, I had then had my Remedy against them, to recover my Damages of them, if they were able, or at least for their Perjury to have utterly disabled them from such undertakings for the future. But by the Evidence being taken in *private*, and the Informers *concealed*, I am deprived of these Benefits and *Legal Privileges*: and by such means may the most *innocent* man be *ruined*. He that never went to such a Meeting in his Life, may by this means be made to suffer for being at such a Meeting, if a couple of graceless Informers, either out of malice, revenge, advantage or mistake (and *hope of concealment*) shall swear against him; and he has no remedy: for if his Fine do not exceed 10 s. he *hath not* the priviledg of an Appeal, but must sit down by the loss: And though 10 s. seems but a little, yet 10 s. a week is 26 l. a year; and that perhaps by that time it is levied, may be more than — 100 l. damage to him from whom it is taken. However, be the suffering greater or less, the *wrong* is the same. I entreat the Justices therefore to take this Matter (of *concealing Informers*, and receiving the Depositions of Witnesses against men in *private*, and condemning and sentencing Persons unheard) into their serious consideration, and do herein as they would be done unto. It was a true saying, though spoken by an Heathen,

*Qui Statuit aliquid parte inaudita altera,
Æquum licet statuerit, haud æquus fuit,*

Sen. in Medea, Act. 2.

Which may bear this English.

*He that, but one part heard, a Fine shall lay,
Not hearing what the Accused hath to say:
Although his Sentence should prove just, yet he
An unjust Judg. will still requied be.*

5. What

5. What hath been said of Informers swearing, hath been spoken with respect to *present practice only*: for otherwise it is the opinion of able Counsel, that *no Informer's Oath ought to be taken in this Case*. And therefore, since the Act directs, that if the Party accused do not confess the Charge, he is to be convicted by the *Oath of two Witnesses*, it may not be unworthy the Justices consideration, what persons in this Case are *fair and legal Witnesses*, what not. In which Inquiry I will not insist on that general qualification of a Witness, *viz.* that he must be *Probus & legalis Homo*: (for little *Probity* to be sure, whatever of *Legality* in that large Sense, is to be looked for in that sort of men, who commonly turn Informers.) But I will propose the Question, *whether any man can be a fair and Lawful Witness, who Swears on his own behalf, and for his own advantage?* If he cannot (which I suppose will be granted) then is the Informer excluded from being a Witness, since if he Swear, *he Swears clearly* (no man more) *for his advantage*: And he is not put upon Swearing, but puts himself upon it, meerly for advantage-sake to himself. If it be said, *he Swears for the King*; the Answer is, *and for himself too*: He swears no more for the King, than he doth for himself; the King is to have but a third part of the Fines, and the Informer himself as much. If in Trials at Law, no man is admitted for a Witness who is *interested in the Cause*, and is to *reap advantage by it*; there is then great reason sure, that the Informers should be set aside, in point of Evidence: Since he is not only *interested in the Cause*, and to *reap advantage by it*; but is Spurr'd on to the undertaking merely by the hope, and desire he hath of gaining thereby. If in a Tryal it should be proved, that a Witness was promised to have so much money given him, in case by his Evidence the Cause should be gained: Would it not be a fair exception against that Witness, and a just ground to set him aside? The Informer is the *Accuser*: and is it reasonable that he should be both *Accuser* and *Witness* too? 'Tis he that makes the *Complaint*: and shall he be admitted to prove *his own Complaint* by *his own Evidence* only! If he hath ought to charge any man with, let him in this, as in all other Cases, make good his Charge by the Evidence of such Witnesses, as are *uninterested* in the Cause, and of *unsuspected* Credit. But this Exception lies not against Informers only, but against all others also who are to *reap benefit to themselves*, by the Conviction. Such I take to be, The *Poor of that Parish* where the Offence is alleadged to have been committed: for if the Party accused

sed be convicted, *they are to have a third part of the Fine*; so that they, like the Informers, *Swear for their own immediate Advantage*; and therefore, by a Parity of Reason, are equally to be excluded from giving Evidence in such a Case. To these may be added all such as are Rated to the Relief of the Poor in *that Parish*, where such Offence is alleadged to have been committed. For though these do not, as the former, swear for their own immediate advantage; yet the Evidence of these doth *mediately*, and in the *Consequences* of it, tend to their own advantage, in *easing themselves thereby of the Charge of maintaining their Poor*, in whole or in part. I could instance a Parish, in which the Overseers of the Poor do at this present forbear making a Rate for the Relief of the Poor, upon a Prospect they have, and a declared expectation, of Monies likely to come in by Fines and Forfeitures upon this Act; by which they hope and propose to ease the Parish of that Charge. Now is not every Contributor to the Poores Rate in that Parish, justly to excepted against as an Evidence in this Case, when their Evidence so plainly tends to their own advantage and interest? If a man offer to swear for the enlarging *his own Parish-Bounds*, he is not allowed for a good Witness, nor will his Evidence be taken in that Case. The Reason is, because by the enlarging his Parish-Bounds, it is supposed some *profit or advantage may accrew to himself*. If it be so in *that Case*, why should it not rather be so in *this*; the same reason in *this Case* being *no less forcible*, and *more obvious* than in *that*? Nor are the Constables and other Officers free from being *excepted against* as Witnesses in this Case. For the Act giving a third part of the Penalties to the Informers, and to *such Person and Persons as the Justice shall appoint*, having regard to *their diligence and industry in discovering, dispersing and punishing of the said Conventicles*; it cannot well be understood that this is meant of any other Persons than the Constables, and those other Officers mentioned in the Act, because none but they are authorized to disperse and punish the Conventicles. And therefore, since they are by this Clause of the Act *put into a capacity of sharing with the Informers*; (at the Justice's direction) and consequently may be *tempted with hopes of advantage*; it seems but reasonable that they also should be set aside, in point of Evidence, and that the proof should be made by Persons of other Parishes, to whom *no profit can accrew thereby*, and against whom *no colour of exception may lie*.

6. Although the Act doth require every Justice of the Peace, upon Proof made to him, to make a Record of the Offence proved, and thereupon to impose upon the Offender so convicted, for the first Offence 5 s. and for every after, 10 s. yet *it doth not injoyne the Justice to prosecute*. He is not by the letter of the Act expressly injoyned, so much as to *issue out a Warrant* for the Levying the fine; much less is he obliged to *drive on* the Officers to take distress. Nay, it is doubtful to some protest Lawyers, whether a Justice of the Peace may grant such a Warrant, or not; in as much as in this particular he is not expressly required or authorized so to do, as in other parts of the Act he is. But however, this seems clear, that inasmuch as there is a *reasonable ground of Doubt*, the Justice doth not incur the forfeiture of 100 l. in case he do refuse to grant such Warrant, provided he ground his Refusal upon that doubt, and declare that to be the reason of his refusal at the time when he so refuses: for then he cannot be convicted of *wilfully and wittingly* omitting the performance of his Duty, as the words of the Act are in relation to that forfeiture, and which must be proved in order to the Recovery of it.

7. The Act doth not inflict the Penalty of 20 l. or 40 l. upon any Person for *Praying*, as it doth for *Preaching* or *Teaching*.

The Words of the Act are, [*That every Person who shall take upon him to Preach or Teach in any such Meeting &c. and shall thereof be convicted as aforesaid, shall forfeit for every such first offence the sum of 20 l. — And if such Offender, &c. shall at any time again commit the like Offence, &c. and be thereof convicted, &c. then such Offender so convicted of such like Offence or Offences, shall for every such offence, incur the penalty of 40 l.*] Here the Penalties of 20 l. and 40 l. are restrained to *Preaching* and *Teaching*; *Not a Word of Praying*. Now *Praying* is neither *Preaching* nor *Teaching*: for *Preaching* and *Teaching* are directed to Men, but *Prayer* is directed to God, whom no man can Teach. If therefore any man shall be informed against for *Preaching*, and upon Examination it appear that *he was only heard to Pray*, he cannot be thereby Legally Convicted of being a Preacher, or incur the Fines imposed by the Act on such as *Preach* or *Teach*. This has been tried upon an Appeal, and Judgment given for the Appellant.

8. This Act doth *not forbid Women to Preach or Teach*: For though it seems at first to speak indefinitely of every person, yet it immediately *restrains it to the Male Sex*, by using the *Masculine Gender only*, [*Him and His.*] The Words of the Act are, *That every person who shall take upon him to preach &c. shall forfeit, &c. to be levied upon his Goods, &c. and if the said Preacher or Teacher be a stranger, and his name not known, &c.*] It is not said, who shall take upon *him or her*, &c. or to be levied upon *his or her* Goods, &c. Or if *his or her* name be not known, &c. as in the next Paragraph of the Act, relating to the Meeting-Places, it is. For there it is said [*That person who shall wittingly or willingly, suffer any such Conventicle, &c. to be held in his or her house, &c. shall forfeit 20. l. to be levied upon his or her Goods, &c. or in case of his or her poverty, &c.*] Here the Gender is very carefully varied. And as this variation of Gender from *him* to *her* doth clearly subject Women to the Fines for suffering such Conventicles, mentioned in the Act, at their Houses: So the omission of that variation, and using only the Masculine Gender, *Him and His, not Her at all*, doth as clearly *exempt Women* from being fined for Preaching. This also hath been tried upon an Appeal, and judgment thereupon given for the Appellant.

9. If above the number of four persons, besides the Family, be met together, *and sit in silence*, so that the Informers are not able to prove that there was *any words* spoken among them, and so no overt act of religious Exercise. Such a Meeting hath been adjudged *not to come within this Act*, nor the Persons so met to be justly liable to any of those Fines, imposable by this Act. For they who are finable by this Act must be such, as are Convicted of having been at a Meeting where was *some Exercise of Religion, in other manner than according to the Liturgy, &c.* But what Exercise of Religion can those persons be Convicted of, who only sit still, and *neither say any thing, nor do any thing*? If their minds and spirits be inwardly gathered into a spiritual Exercise towards God, who is the Father of Spirits; That methinks should not be in other manner than according to the *Liturgy* and Practice of the Church of England. However, that falls not under the Cognizance of *outward Evidence*. But that which the Justices may well hold the Informers and
their

their Witnesses to is, *what Exercise of Religion they saw there?* And if they are not able to give account of *some Exercise* of Religion there used, and that *in other manner* than according to the Liturgy, &c. the Justice hath very good ground to *reject their Information*. In this Case also upon a Tryal, the Persons so met have been acquitted.

11. And lastly, concerning the House or Place where the Meeting is held, there seems to be a great mistake. For some eager Prosecutors of this Act, for *every time* that proof hath been made to them, of a Meeting being held at such or such an House, have imposed a *fresh* Fine for the House, which in my apprehension, (with submission notwithstanding to more able judgment) the Act affords no colour for. The words are these [*And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that every Person who shall wiltingly and willingly suffer any such Conventicle, Meeting or unlawful Assembly aforesaid, to be held in his or her house, out-house, Barn, Yard or Back-side, and be convicted thereof in manner aforesaid shall forfeit the sum of 20 l. to be levied in manner aforesaid, upon his or her Goods and Chattels; or in case of his or her poverty or inability as aforesaid, upon the Goods and Chattels of such persons who shall be convicted in manner aforesaid, of being present at the same Conventicle; and the Money so levied to be disposed of in manner aforesaid.*] This is the whole of that matter *verbatim*: In which there is no mention of any more or other than *one* Fine, and that of 20 l. No iteration or repeating of the Fine, for *every such Meeting*; as in other parts of this Act, where the Fine is to be repeated, It is expressly said. For instance, In the case of the Hearer, there is not only the Fine of 5 s. set for the first Offence; but a double Fine afterwards for *every such Offence*, expressly. Again, In the case of the Preacher, there is not only the Fine of 20 l. for the first Offence; but a double Fine afterwards for *every such Offence*, expressly. Again, In the Case of a Constables wilfully and wittingly omitting the performance of his duty, it is said expressly, He shall forfeit for *every such Offence* the sum of 5 l. But in this Case of the Meeting-House, there is *no such* Expression used, no such Provision made, no such Direction given, *no such* Course required. Nay, here is not so much as an Implication of a *Second*; for the Word [*First*] is not here used, as in the other Cases, of Preacher and Hearer, it is. Now
since

since in all places of the Act, where the Penalty is to be repeated, or more than once inflicted; it is expressly said [*for every such Offence*] which Sentence in this Place is wholly omitted, I take it for a very perswasive Argument, That it was never intended any more than one Fine should be set for one Meeting-House, how oft soever met in. But if any apprehend otherwise; and should think the Intention of the Law-makers reacht further; yet since the *Letter of the Law extends no further*, since also the Clemency of English Natures hath resolved it into an Axiom, *That penal Laws are to be taken, in mitiori Sensu in the more mild and favourable Sense*: there seems to be here at least fair Scope for all (who would not be Severer than Severity, and even exceed *Summum Jus*) to exercise some degree of *Compassion* towards the afflicted. To which Christian Temper; and tender frame of Spirit; what words can be more moving and apt to dispose, than those of our blessed Saviour, in his Sermon on the Mount, viz. *Blessed are the Merciful; for they shall obtain Mercy*; Mat. 5. 7.

T H E E N D.

1909

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First Edition 1678
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THE
FOUNDATION
OF
TYTHES
SHAKEN:

And the Four Principal Posts (of *Divine Institution, Primitive Practice, Voluntary Donations, & Positive Laws*) on which the nameless Author of the Book, called, *The Right of Tythes Asserted and Proved*, hath set his pretended Right to Tythes, Removed, in a Reply to the said Book.

Written By Thomas Ellwood. *Weston*

The Priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the Law, Hebr. 7. 12. For there is verily a disannulling of the Commandment going before, &c. vers. 18.

In *Augustine's* time it was no general Law nor Custom in the Church, that Tythes should be paid, *Willes's Synopsis of Popery*, 3th Gen. Controv. pag. 314.

Nemo plus juris ad Alium transferre potest, quam ipse habet, Ulpian. l. c. No man can make a better Title to another than he himself hath.

Id uod nostrum est, sine facto nostro a nobis avelli non potest Reg. Jur. l. c. That which is our own, may not be taken away fr. us without our own act.

Printed in the Year 1678.

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THE P R E F A C E

Reader,

One of the great Faults, which the witty Erasmus pleasantly taxed Luther with, was this, That he meddled with the Monks Bellies: for indeed, that zealous Reformer did smartly inveigh against the Pride, Idleness, Luxury, Voluptuousness and greedy Covetousness of the then Clergy. I have of late been also drawn to meddle a little with the Priests Bellies; the Occasion for which was thus offered, by one of themselves.

Somewhat more than two years ago, a Book was published, by a Nameless Priest, bearing the Title of A Friendly Conference between a Minister and a Parishioner of his inclining to Quakerism, &c. In the latter part of which, he made Tythes the Subject of his Conference. When I had read that Book, and had observed, that, in some parts of it, the Author thereof had greatly abused, and mis-represented the People call'd Quakers; in others, had endeavour'd to deceive his Reader by Sophistical and Fallacious Arguments: I writ an Answer to the whole, under the Title of Truth Prevailing, &c. which I divided into several Chapters, according to the various Subjects treated of, the last of which was Tythes. This, pinching the Priests in a tender part (the Belley) made them bestir themselves, and lay their Heads together, to consider what was to be done. After divers Debates, and much Consulta-

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The PREFACE.

tion (as I have been informed) about it, another Book (written by another Hand, but without a Name too) at length came forth, entituled, *The Right of Tythes Asserted and Proved, &c.* being an Answer to that one Chapter only of Tythes, which though it was the last Chapter in my Book, yet having the first and chiefest place in the *Priests Minds and Affections*, obtained from them the first and chiefest Defence. Sometime after came out another Book, said to be written by the Author of the Conference, who was not willing yet, it seems, to trust the World with his Name. This bearing the Title of *A Vindication of the Friendly Conference, &c.* (and divided into like number of Chapters with mine) seems to be designed for a general Reply to my Book. The former (called, *The Right of Tythes*) came first to my Hand, and was about half dispatch before I saw the latter. I therefore chose to take the Chapter of Tythes out of the latter (so much, I mean, of it as seemed Argumentative, or pertinent to the purpose) and clap it to the Book of Tythes, as being of the same Subject. To both these the Book in thy Hand is intended for an Answer: how well it answereth that Intendment, is left to thee, Reader, to judge.

If thou art a Tyth-Receiver of any kind, there is great danger lest Interest, mis-guiding thy Understanding, should hinder thee from discerning Truth, and so from judging truly. For that of the Poet.

Impedit Ira Animum, ne possit cernere verum,

[Anger doth obstruct the Mind
That the Truth it cannot find.]

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Is not more true of Anger, than of Interest. Advantage, like the Byass on a Bowl, is apt to sway the Judgment, and draw the Mind to favour that side, on which the Profit lies. Against this Danger be pleased to take this Caution: and be entreated to lay aside all Considerations of Gain or Loss, Advantage or Disadvantage in this Case, not measuring the Justice of the Cause by the Profit, but weighing the Profit by the Justice. Remember that, Nihil utile, quod non idem honestum (i. e. Nothing is profitable which is not Honest) and Nihil honestum esse potest, quod injustitia vacat (i. e. Nothing can be Honest which is not Just) were approved Axioms amongst the gravest Heathen Philosophers, and deserve much more to be observed by those, who bear a Name derived from Christ.

Ex Damno alterius commoda nulla feres,

[Account not that for Just and Honest Gain
Which got by thee, makes others Loss sustain]

Is a good Document for Men as well as Children. In short, whether thou art a Tythe-Receiver, or no, this I request of thee, Read without Prejudice, Judge without Partiality; Examine this Discourse fully and thoroughly; but give the Reasons therein given their due Poize and Weight.

The Author of The Right of Tythes, in his Epistle, pag. 2. charges me with bragging in a Letter of mine to a Quaker at York, that I have shewed some little Learning in my former Book; and there-upon says, I dare affirm he hath but little to shew. I am perswaded He and I shall not fall out about my Learning

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ing: for he seems willing to allow me a little, and I assure him, I never took my self to have much. Nor do I think, when his Disdain is at the highest, he will desire to lay me lower, in that respect, than I, of my self, am willing to lie, But in charging me with bragging of that little Learning, which his Courtesie is pleased to allow me, he deals discourteously and injuriously with me. The Letter he mentions was in Answer to one from a Friend in York (to me unknown) in which he acquainted me, That my Book having gained Acceptance there, Endeavours were used to prevent its further Service, by casting out a Report that I was a Jesuit, at least, that I was no Quaker, but had a mind to shew my Parts and Learning, &c. (The like Rumour also, of my being a Jesuit, was craftily spread in Nottingham-shire) Hereupon to shew the Vanity of their Slander, I thus writ in that Letter, — Some (thou sayest) will needs have me to be a Jesuit; and why? because of a little Learning: must uone then have Learning but they and Jesuits? This is the common, but poor shift of Priests hard beset; when they cannot maintain their Ground, they cry out, Their Opponent is a Jesuit, as if none could be too hard for them, but Jesuits, by whom to be worsted they are not ashamed to think it no shame, the more shame for them. Well, Truth is too hard for them and Jesuits too. And a little after, Whatever they in their Carnal minds may imagine — I have learnt to know my self better, than to ascribe to my self or my own Abilities any of that Honour, which is due to the Power of Prevailing Truth.—Judge, Reader, whether from those Expressions, my Opponent had any just ground to tax me with bragging of my Learning.

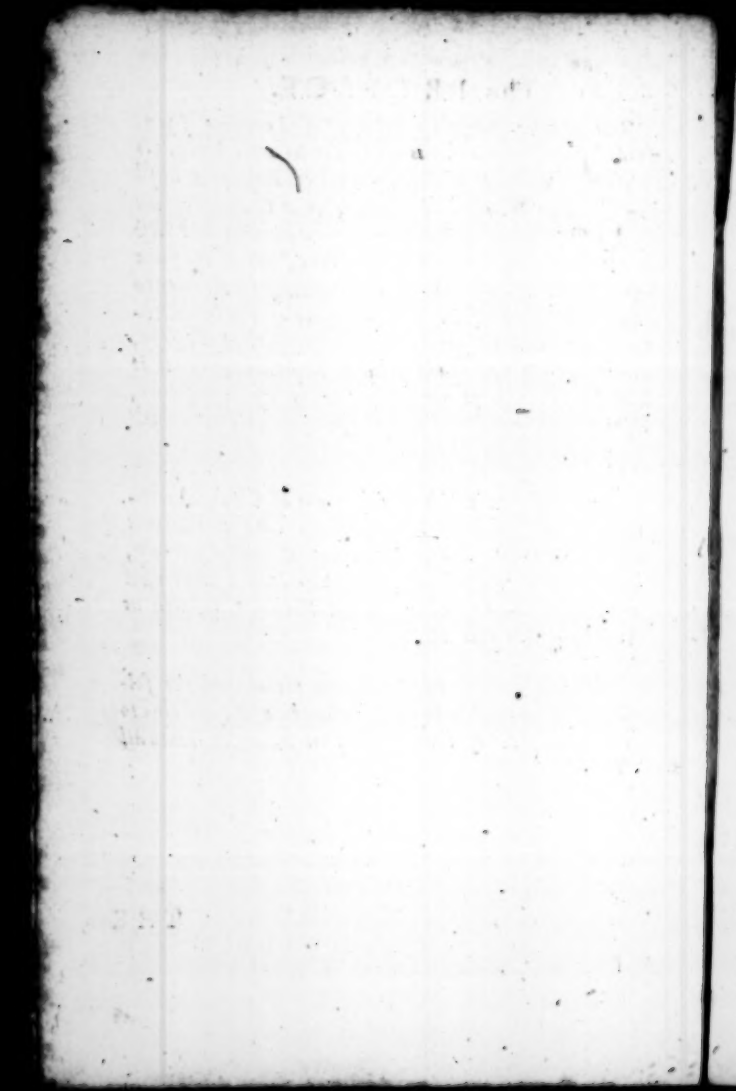
But

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But as an Argument of my want of Learning (yea. gross Ignorance, as he is pleased to term it, Ep. p. 3.) he charges me with mistaking another Basil for Basil the Great. This he takes out of that Chapter of my Book which treats of Swearing; and his Brother Priest in his Vindication of the Conference, objects the same against me, in his Chapter of Swearing in Answer to mine. When I shall come to that part of the Vindication, I intend to give an Account of that Passage, and therefore (to avoid needless Repetitions) omit it here; yet thought it needful to intimate thus much here, lest my Opponent should so far mistake himself as to think I was willing to shift it.

Some Testimonies I have taken out of Fox's Martyrology (or Book of Martyrs) the various Editions of which render Quotations out of it very uncertain, and sometimes suspected: the Book which I have used is of the sixth impression, in two Volumes, printed at London in the year 1610.

These things premised, I now recommend the following Discourse to thy most serious perusal, and thee to the Guidance of that good Spirit which leads into all Truth.



THE INTRODUCTION.

When *Demetrius* the Silver-Smith of *Ephesus* perceived, that by *Paul's* preaching his *Trade* was like to decay, he call'd his *Crafts-men* together, and thus bespake them, *Ye know*, said he, *that by this Craft we have our Wealth ; Moreover, ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath perswaded and turned away much people, saying, that they be no Gods which are made with hands : so that not only this our Craft is in danger to be set at naught, but also that the Temple of the great Goddess Diana should be despised, &c.* *Acts 19. 25, 26.* The Case hath fallen out somewhat alike with our *English Demetrius*, the Author of the Book called, *The Right of Tythes asserted, &c.* who finding his *Diana* totter by a stroke received from the last Chapter in a Book of mine, called, *Truth Prevailing* (written in Answer to one from his Party, called, *A Friendly Conference*) and apprehensive of greater Danger, if timely course were not taken, he gives the Alarm to his Fellow-Crafts-men, and bespeaks him much to the same purpose, as did the *Ephesian Silver-Smith* of old. He said then, This is the Craft by which we have our Wealth : This sayes now, *This is the Oyl by which our Lamp is nourished, the Pay by which our Army is maintained*, page 13. He said then, *This Paul hath perswaded and turned away much People ;*

saying, they be no Gods which are made with hands : This saith now, *When I consider how easily so plausible a Discourse* (meaning that Book of mine) *might seduce some well-meaning men out of the right way, &c.* pag. 4. Again, *The Obstinacy which the unhappy Quakers contract from such false Insinuations as these of T. E. in this Case of Tythes, &c.* pag. 6. Again, *Our Changers of Religion mainly seek to overthrow these things, & to that end have sent out T. E. as their Champion,* pag. 15. with more to the same purpose. He said then, *Not only this our Craft is in danger to be set at nought, but also, that the Temple of the great Goddess Diana should be despised. This sayes now, They would gladly stir up the People to take away our Books and Subsistence from us,* pag. 14. *To stop the Oyl that nourishes our Lamp, and force us to disband for want of Pay,* pag. 13. And not only so, but *wise and pious men — look upon them as designing to disturb the Kingdom, destroy Learning, & ruin the most famous of all Protestant Churches,* pag. 14. *To overthrow not only the Ministers, and their Maintenance, but also the Peace of the Church, and Religion, whose safety (he sayes) depends upon that Maintenance,* pag. 15. He raised the People into an uproar, and filled the City with Confusion; crying out for about the space of two hours, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians.* This man abounds with confusion also, having little strength of sound Argument or force of solid Reasoning, but crying up the *sacred Maintenance, Divine Tribute, Rights of Holy Church, &c.*

And indeed, the main difference that doth appear between that *Demetrius* and this, is, that he (though he sought the destruction of the Apostle) did not bespatter him with approbrious Language; whereas this man hath endeavoured to besmear my Name with all the

the ignominy, reproach and obloquy his evil Nature could prompt him to, and his worse Education furnish him with, of which these that follow are some, *This poor Retailer*, pag. 3. *Our strutting Quaker*, pag. 16. *Obscure and empty Quaker*, pag. 17. *This skulking Adversary*, pag. 19. *This poor Quaker is as bold as he is Blind*, pag. 35. *This Quaker hath learnt to Cant*, pag. 40. *He hath the impudence*, pag. 113. *This ungracious Cham*, pag. 122. *The Quaker is a manifest Liar*, pag. 139. *This insolent Quaker*, pag. 161. *T. Elwood is a blasphemous Wretch*, pag. 173. *Though T. E. use the name of Popish Priests to gull the People, yet he is one of their Journey men*, pag. 179. *He is an inspirado*, pag. 182. *A wild Quaker*, pag. 190. *This double-tongued and false-hearted man*, pag. 195. *His own base humor*, pag. 200. *Common experience proclaims him a Liar*, *ibid.* *This seditious Libeller*, pag. 201. *Is not the Quaker a Knave*, pag. 212. *This malicious Slanderer*, pag. 214. *This black-mouthed Slanderer may publish his own Venemous impieties*, pag. 233.

This, Reader, is the Language wherewith he treats me; notwithstanding which he hath the confidence to Brand me with Railing, for calling Tythes *the Priests Delilah*, *the very Darling and minion of the Clergy*: This he sayes is *Ill Language*, pag. 11. and *Scurrillity*, pag. 12. which he will not meddle with. But if this be *ill Language* and *Scurrillity*, by what Name I marvel shall that Language of his pass, which is before recited! Doubtless if Railing be not Reasoning (as he truly sayes) his Book is so replete with Railing, that there is little room for Reasoning in it. And though he terms that expression of mine *Scurrillity*, and sayes he will not meddle with it, yet can he not forbear, but in the very next page catches up this which himself ac-

counts ill Language and Scurrillity, and throws it at the *Quakers*, calling *Tythes the Quakers Delilah the very Darling and Minion of that Sect*, pag. 13. And so transported he is with passion against the *Quakers*, that he sees not the absurdity he runs himself upon, in taxing the *Quakers* with railing at *Tythes* in the very same Line, wherein he calls *Tythes the Quakers Delilah, the very Darling and Minion of that Sect*: Is not this contradictory?

And as he all along looks upon the *Quakers* with an evil Eye of contempt, disdain, and scorn, so he lifts up himself and his Brethren of the Clergy, scarce finding words big enough to express the high conceit, and lofty Opinion he has of his own and their Abilities. The leading *Quakers* (says he) perceiving the Clergy of England so able and industrious to discover all their evil Designs, &c. pag. 12. Again, They know while the Clergy have these provisions, they will have Books, and leisure to Study, and Learning enough to baffle all their silly pretences, pag. 13. Again, Our Adversaries finding our study of the Law so destructive of their inspired Nonsense; they would gladly stir up the People to take away our Books, and Subsistence from us, that we might be starved into Ignorance, and by our sad Necessities be brought down to their scantling of understanding; and then they hope their Speakers would be an equal match for us, pag. 14. These are the Brags, these the Insults, these the Vanta's, these are some of the Rhodomontades of this Polemical Priest, who in the pride of his Heart, and haughtiness of his Mind, looks on the poor *Quakers* with the same Eye of Scorn and Contempt, as did the monstrous Philistine of Old, upon the little Stripling David. But when he takes occasion to mention me, how is he put to it to find words sufficiently significant

significant of his *high disdain!* as in pag. 4. *So MEAN a Creature.* Again in pag. 5. *I judge it necessary to lay aside all Considerations of the MEANNESS of the Adversary.* And when he hath a mind to throw dirt on me, rather than want a pretence to do it on, he will use the help of his *invention*, and suppose things not in common sense supposeable: As when he sayes, *Dr. Sr, I perceive our strutting Quaker looks on you with a scornful Eye, and sayes, pag. 277. Tythes were wont to be claimed as of divine Right; but he finds this Priest is not hardy enough to adventure his cause upon that Title: Sure he takes himself to be very terrible, for he believes none but a hardy man dares set upon him, pag. 16.* How can it reasonably be supposed that I did charge the Author of the Friendly Conference with want of hardiness in respect of my self? Can he imagine I took that Book to be designed as an Onset upon me! nothing is more irrational. Again, he sayes, pag. 17. *It is evident you laid aside this Weapon (of the divine right) not out of any distrust of the Argument, nor out of any great Opinion of your Adversaries skill;* How weakly is this argued, for a man of so great Learning! One of my scantling of understanding might happily have spoken as pertinently as this. The Author of the Friendly Conference did not lay aside the Weapon of divine right, out of any great Opinion of his Adversaries skill: Why, did he know what skill his Adversary had before he try'd it? Nay, did he know before-hand, or could he fore-see who his Adversary should be? Surely, either this great Learn't man in the wantonness of his Wit, hath over-shot himself, or else he must make his Dr. Sr. a Diviner instead of a Divine: This he did to fasten on me an imputation of self-conceit, and stick his *strutting* Epithet upon me; but in pag. 3. when he

had a mind to Badge me with the scornful Title of a poor Retailer, he sayes, *I gleaned my Quotations out of Fisher against Bishop Gauden, and that with so little skill, that when the Printer in Fisher had mistaken Fimicus for Firmicus; this poor Retailer calls him Firmicus also, pag. 115.* which very Page of my Book detects his unfair dealing, and clearly convicts him of manifest falsehood: for I there quote *Gauden's Book of Oaths*, and the very page in *Gauden's Book*, out of which I took that Sentence, notwithstanding which, so little regard has he to speaking Truth, that he charges me with gleaning it out of *Fisher*. But this is not the only instance of his unfair dealing by me, as I shall have occasion hereafter to shew.

He seems highly offended that I called *Tythes the Priests Delilah, the very Darling & Minion of the Clergy*. What ever Reasons induced me so to call them, I think he hath sufficiently proved that I therein exprest my self aptly enough; for he hath not only leapt over all the rest of my Book, and singled out this which was the last Chapter in it, shewing thereby how near and dear this is to him, and that whatever becomes of the rest, this shall have a distinct Treatise for its particular defence, but in his treating of it also, he delivers himself in such *Pathetical* expressions, and speaks so feelingly of it, that one may easily perceive it is one of his nearest concerns, if not the nearest of all: Hear what he sayes, pag. 13. speaking of the *Quakers* withholding Tythes from them, *They see* (sayes he) *they cannot quench the Lamp; and therefore they would stop the Oyl that nourishes it.* Tythes then it seems (in his own account) is to the Priests what Oyl is to the Lamp, that which makes it shine, that which makes it give any light, that which makes it of any use or service; can any

any thing be nearer? *No Oyl, no Light; no Tythes, no Preaching; no Penny, no Pater noster.* Did ever any, who assumed the Name of a Minister of the Gospel, speak after this rate before! stop the Oyl, the Lamp goes out, the Lamp has done shining; with-hold Tythes, the Priest gives over, *the Priest has done preaching.* Without Oyl the Lamp will not burn; *without Tythes the Priest will not Preach:* Methinks this might be enough to let the People see what a Ministry they are under, and seriously to consider, *Whether the dim Lights their Lamps gives, be worth the Oyl it spends them?* Certain it is, that in thus comparing the Priests to the Lamp, and the Tythes to the Oyl, making Tythes the cause of the Priests preaching, as the Oyl is of the Lamps burning; this Priest hath spoke the very Truth, though somewhat unadvisedly; and 'tis much if this unwary Expression don't lose him all the preferment he promised himself for his elaborate Book of the *Rights of Tythes*, which smells so strong of the Lamp. But howsoever he speeds in that, his own comparison will justify me for calling Tythes the Priests Delilah, the very Darling and Minion of the Clergy.

But more fully to discover his foundation and standing, take another expression of his in the same page, *And because they dare not engage this Army, they attempt to force them to disband for want of Pay.* It seems then this Army of Priests fight for Pay; and without Pay fight who will for them, they will disband first: But I am of Opinion they will consider twice, before they disband once. Men once in Arms are seldom forward to disband, while either Pay or Plunder lasts. How have they behaved themselves towards those that have *no need* of such an Army, nor expecting benefit by them, have *Conscientiously refused* to pay them? Did they
disband

disband, or threaten it? nothing less. They rather *Rallied* their Forces together, & either by Law, or force without Law, have fallen upon the Spoil, & taken sometimes three, sometimes five or six times as much as they pretended to be due to them: So that it is not likely, while Plunder may be had, the want of Pay will disband them.

But while this Priest talks of being forc'd to disband for want of Pay. I doubt he forgets the *Nature* of his Warfare, and the *Cause* for which he pretends to be engaged. Is not he one that takes upon him a *Care of Souls*? and can he so easily *quit his Station*? Will he leave the *Souls* of the People for a *Prey to the Enemy*, because he has not the *pay* he desires? Surely then it is otherwise with him, then it was with the Apostle *Paul*, who did not say, *If ye Pay me not, you'll force me to disband*; if ye stop the Oyl my Lamp will go out; without *Tythes* I cannot Preach, but *A necessity is laid upon me*, yea, *Wo is to me if I preach not the Gospel*, 1 Cor. 9. 16. But this Priest does not appear to be under that necessity of Preaching, but rather under the necessity of *giving over*, if he be not paid to his content; nay, he seems to understand no other *Wo*, but that of having the Oyl stopped, and wanting Pay. The Parishoner in the *Friendly Conference*, pag. 160. was pretty near the mark it seems, when he said, *The Covetousness of the Clergy hath given us occasion to fear, that hereafter you of your preferments, and you would soon abandon your Profession*: And that Priest understood better how to Varnish over his Cause, then this hath done; for he answered more warily, *I hope* (said he) *many of us can appeal to the searcher of Hearts, that we embraced the Ministry upon better grounds then temporal Interests*.

Whatever the grounds were upon which they embraced their Ministry, *temporal Interests* it seems by this

this Priest, are the grounds upon which they will quit it; want of Pay will force them to disband. 'Tis much if this Priest be not one of those, of whom his Dr. Sr. the Author of the *Friendly Conference* speaks, when he sayes, pag. 11. *It cannot be expected to be otherwise, but that some men for a corrupt Interest will intrude themselves into these sacred Offices:* Or at least one of those of whom the same Author complains, in pag. 160. of his *Friendly Conference*, where he sayes, *The secular care of some of the Clergy, for the Maintenance of their Families have been excessive;* some such it seems there are among them, and he is as like to be one as another: for indeed the excess of his Secular care bespeaks him *An Intruder for a corrupt Interest.*

The Jews he sayes have a Proverb, *Sine farina non est lex*, pag. 14. i. e. *Without Meal there is no Law.* And have not the Priests a Proverb also, *Sine farina non est Evangelium*, i. e. *Without Meal there is no Gospel.* If his metaphors of the Lamp and the Oyl, the Army and the Pay be thought too weak to bear my Inference out, I will add what he in the next page tells us Tacitus sayes of the State, with his own application thereof to the Church, *There can be no quiet to the Nations without Souldiers, no Souldiers without Pay, nor no Pay without Tribute, on which therefore the common safety doth depend: Even so, sayes he, no Peace in the Church without Ministers, no Ministers without Maintenance, nor no Maintenance without these publick Contributions, on which therefore the safety of Religion doth depend.* The plain English of this is, *No Tythes, no Ministers; no Meal, no Gospel;* for all is made to depend upon Tythes. No Ministers without Maintenance, no Maintenance without these publick Contributions (namely Tythes, no other maintenance it seems will serve the

turn) on which therefore, namely Tythes, the safety of Religion doth depend: So that take away Tythes, and down falls Religion: but that must be understood of their Religion only, whose Subsistence depends upon Tythes, and I hope not of all theirs neither.

I am not willing to spend time in tracing him step by step through all his crooked turnings and windings, wherein he often contradicts himself, one while making the *Quakers* to be acted by meer Covetousness (in denying to pay Tythes) pretending Conscience to save their Purses, supposing this kind of Godliness great Gain, pag. 12. insinuating, that the *Quakers* find their Harangues against Tythes very taking with the Covetous and Atheistical, with those who care not much for any Religion, and therefore like the cheapest best, pag. 14. Another while, *The Quakers* Obstinacy in this case of Tythes exposeth them to more Sufferings than all their other Errors, p. 6. One while, I am a bold Antagonist, pag. 5. Another while, *The Quakers* dare not engage the *Priests* Army, pag. 13. Anon, T. E. singly provokes the *Priest* to take up this Argument, pag. 18. And (which is beyond all the rest) he calls me both a daring Adversary, and a sculking Adversary in one and the same page. But I pass over these, and many other of like nature, being desirous to try what further Strength and Force of Argument this great Warriour hath brought forth in the Defence of Tythes, then the Author of the *Friendly Conference* had done before him.

CHAP. I.

§. 1. **T**O make out the Divine Right of Tythes, there are three Periods (he sayes, p. 19.) to be considered? 1. Before the Law; 2. Under the Law; 3. The Time of the Gospel. *Concerning the 1st Period, before the Law, sayes he (to his Dr. Sr.) you said very little in your Conference, as not designing to manage this Argument.*

But why did he say so little? Was it not because he had *but little* to say, and as I observed in my former Answer, *Though he pretended to be a Minister of the Gospel, yet he took the Law for the surer holding, and therefore betook himself chiefly to that?* No, sayes this Priest (to excuse him) *'Tis evident you laid aside this Weapon (of the divine Right) not out of any distrust of the Argument, but in very Truth you seem to have been loath to cast Pearls before Swine, who understand not the value of them,* pag. 17, 18.

Was his Parishioner then a Swine with whom he discoursed on that subject, whom he called his Good Friend and Neighbour, pag. 1. to whom he bore such true Friendship, pag. 2. whose serious Inclination, Modesty and Humility he commended, and the Expressions of whose Affection he accepted in all gratitude, pag. 3.

He hinted indeed before (pag. 6. of his *Friendly Conference*) that the Priests People were *Beasts*, and *lean Beasts*, *no fatter for all the feeding*; but then they seemed to have been *Kine*, he stroak't so much Milk from

them; but this Priest has explain'd the matter, and declared them arrant *Swine*, not considering that he hath made his *Dr. Sr. a Swineherd* instead of a *Shepherd*.

But what am I concern'd in all this ? Will he blame me because his Brother *took up his Cause by the wrong end* ! If divine Right (as he sayes) be *antecedent* to any positive Constitution, why began he at the human Right ? Or if he intended only to mannage the Argument of humane Right (as this Priest intimates for him, pag. 20.) why did he meddle with the divine Right ? but seeing he gave a touch on each, why am I blam'd for answering both ? He had Reason the rather to have begun with the divine Right, and to have insisted on it too, and have managged that Argument (if he understood it) in as much as he began his Discourse upon a Passage taken out of a Book of *E. B's*, which related to the divine Right, not to the humane. Yet had he said nothing of Divine Right at all, it may be I might have said the less; but seeing he thought fit to say so much as might intimate a reserve for a divine Right, I think I had reason to examine the claim, and not as *easily grant*, as he did *weakly beg* the Question.

But he sayes, he perceives his Brother Priest had mentioned, that *the divine Right of Tythes was derived from Melchizedeck, not from Levi*. He's very angry I fell upon this Passage, and to vent his Passion bestows upon me the badge of a *skulking Adversary*: Why so ? Because *this Passage* (he sayes) *was single, not guarded with any Proofs or Reasons, stood naked, was an open place*. Whose Fault was that ? Did he expect I should have guarded it with Proofs and Reasons for him ? or that I should have been so mannerly as to have past it by because it was not guarded ? He would not
it

it seems have had me enter there, because it was an open place. Surely if I had meddled with nothing but what was guarded with Proofs and Reasons, I should have had little to meddle with; for his whole Book is either unguarded or ill guarded.

But he would persuade his Reader, pag. 17, 20. *That I had triumphed over this naked Sentence*, (as he calls it) *and over the Author too*; nay, *that I had boasted, I had disproved clearly the divine Right of Tythes*; for which, the better to hide himself, he assigns no page of my Book; nor do I know any Passage in it, from which, without a positive Resolution to abuse me, he could draw such an unfair inference. The most I said (that I remember) was in pag. 282. and the words these, 'That Tythes were not paid by *Abraham* to *Melchizedeck*, but given, and that but once, and that too upon an Accidental Occasion, nor then out of his own proper Estate (but out of the Pillage of *Sodom*, which he by the Sword had recovered from the Plunderers) I think I need not stick to say I have already prov'd. Whether this was an immodest Expression, considering what I had before offer'd in the four preceding pages of my Book; and whether he hath dealt fairly with me from hence, to represent me as triumphing, and boasting that I had disproved clearly the Divine Right of Tythes, let the ingenuous Reader judge.

§. 2. My first Opponent in his *Friendly Conference*, pag. 135. had affirmed, that *those that insist upon the divine Right of Tythes, derive them not from Levi, but Melchizedeck*; In my Answer to which, pag. 277. I said, 'It is then inquirable, whether or no Tythes were ever due to *Melchizedeck*; That which should
' make

'make them due, must be a Command, they were not
'due to the *Levitical* Priesthood, until they were com-
'manded to be paid; but after they were commanded
'to be paid, they become due; and so long as the Com-
'mand stood in force, it was an Evil to detain them.
But we do not find, throughout the Scriptures any Com-
mand from God that Tythes should be paid unto *Mel-
chizedeck*. Upon this the Author of the Right of
Tythes says, pag. 20. *My first words do declare, I do
not understand the Question.*

But I believe, either this Priest doth not understand
the Question, as the other stated it; or else he thinks
the other Priest did not understand how to state it as
he should do; and therefore he hath undertaken to state
the Question anew. The Case was plain enough to be
understood before; and I am content to abide the Rea-
der's Censure, whether by my Answer to it I under-
stood it or not. I confess, I did not then understand
how this man Eighteen Moneths after would alter it,
no more then I now do how another of them Eighteen
Moneths hence may vary it again, if this mans work
succeed no better then the former. The former Priest
said, *The divine Rights of Tythes was derived from Mel-
chizedeck*. Now because no Right could be derived
from *Melchizedeck* to another, which was not first in
Melchizedeck himself, I thought it justly inquirable,
Whether or no Tythes were ever due to Melchizedeck?
And because no certain and positive Evidence could be
produced of *Melchizedeck's* Right to Tythes, I judg'd
it necessary to consider what way Tythes might come
to be due to him, and therefore said, *that which should
make them due must be a Command*. This also I demon-
strated by an Instance from the *Levitical* Priesthood, to
whom it is on all hands acknowledged they were due,
after

after they were commanded to be paid to them, not before; therefore I said, 'They were not due to the *Levitical Priesthood*, until they were commanded to be paid; but after they were commanded to be paid they became due: and so long as that Command stood in force, it was an Evil to detain them. This the Priest was willing to dash out, lest as the Right of the *Levitical Priesthood* to Tythes, depended upon an express Command, so an equality of Reason should drive him to seek a Command, on which to ground *Melchizedeck's* Right to them also, which he very well knew he could no where find.

He attempts therefore to mend the matter by a *new stating* of the Question: And whereas the other Priest had asserted, that *the Divine Right of Tythes was derived from Melchizedeck, not from Levi*; this Priest says, pag. 20. *The Assertors of the Divine Right of Tythes do not make them originally due either to Melchizedeck or Levi, but to God himself, &c.*

To whom Tythes were *originally* due, was not the Question; but from whom the present Priests do derive a *Divine Right* in Tythes to themselves, whereby Tythes may become due to them by a *Divine Right*, which the former Priest asserted to be *from Melchizedeck*. He does not claim Tythes from God, to whom they were *originally* due; but from *Melchizedeck*, to whom how they became due, and from whom have they come to be due to these Priests, had well become him to have proved.

§ 3. He says, *The Tenth belongs to God.*

I say, *All belongs to God*, the Nine Parts as well as the Tenth; for the Fulness of the Earth is the Lords, *Psal. 24. 1.* not a part only; the Cattel on a thousand Hills

Hills are his, *Psal.* 90. 12. not the Tythes of them only. That Scripture therefore *Prov.* 3. 9. *Honour the Lord with thy Substance*, is misapplied by the Priest, and, as he restrains it to the Payment of Tythes, is not a binding Rule to *Christians* as well as *Jews*; *Christians* being no where commanded by God to pay Tythes, as the *Jews* expressly were. But the *Christian* doth then honour God with his Substance, when thankfully receiving the Goods of this World from the Hand of the Lord, he doth in God's holy Fear so use them, as not to abuse them, *1 Cor.* 7. 31. when both in eating and drinking, and whatsoever else he does, he does all to the Glory of God, according to the Exhortation of the Apostle *Paul*, *1 Cor.* 10. 31. 'Tis not to be doubted but that God, from whose Bounty and Blessing all is received, might reserve to himself what share he pleased; but what he might do is one thing, what he did another: That he ever did appropriate the tenth part, I find not in Scripture express, excepting only in the time of the *Levitical Priesthood*, for which there was a particular Reason. He then chose the *Jewish Nation* to be his peculiar People, which People being divided into twelve Tribes, he separated one entire Tribe, the Tribe of *Levi*, to attend the Service of the Tabernacle. The Land of *Canaan* he divided amongst the other eleven Tribes, but gave the Tribe of *Levi* no Inheritance amongst them, *Numb.* 18. 20, 23, 24. *Deut.* 10. 9. for they being wholly employed in that service, could not have leisure to attend the Plough, or other Rural Occupations. Seeing therefore he had excluded them from a share of the Land (the manuring of which would have taken them off from the Service he had designed them to) and that
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by this means their Brethren, the other Eleaven Tribes, amongst whom their part was shared, did all fare so much the better, their respective Lots being so much the greater, he commanded the Eleaven Tribes that had the Lands, to pay the Tythes of the increase thereof, out of which this twelfth Tribe should be maintained. And while that Priesthood and Polity stood, which Tythes were suitable and appropriated to, this Tything Command was in force, and no longer. But that even God did reserve the tenth, or command the payment of Tythes to any, before the constitution of the *Levitical* Priesthood, or since the Dissolution thereof, I no where read in Scripture. This is proper for the Assertors of the Divine Right of Tythes to prove, and indeed so absolutely necessary, that if they fail of this, all they can say beside will be too weak to bear their Title up: For in a matter of so great moment, it is not bare Conjectures or meer Suppositions, nor Probability neither, will serve the turn, but positive Precept. The *Levitical* Priesthood was not left to such Incertainties. Though this Priest is willing to take it for granted, that the men of that Age wherein *Abraham* lived, knew and understood by the Light of Nature, that the tenth part belong'd to God, and was therefore to be paid to his Priests: yet we find God himself did not think fit to hazard the *Levitical* Priesthood on such uncertain terms, but secured their Maintenance to them by an express Command, which left no room for any Doubts or Scruples. And can it be imagin'd, that the Omniscient God, whose Eye at once fore-sees all Events, would leave the Maintenance of his Gospel-Ministry, so much nearer to him then the *Levitical* Priesthood, to depend upon the ambiguous and doubtful Constitution of a single Act of *Abraham's*, or a Vow of *Jacob's*

cob's, uncertain when, or where; or how performed? No doubtless, it cannot reasonably be supposed, that he who took such particular Care of the Legal Priesthood (which was to last but for a time) and was so punctual in appointing Tythes for their Maintenance, not thinking either *Abraham's Gift* or *Jacob's Vow* sufficient ground for them to claim upon, although they were the chosen Priests of God, without a plain and positive Command, would leave his Royal Priesthood, the Publishers of his Everlasting Gospel, so ill provided of a Claim to Tythes, as to be necessitated to strain a Title out of *Abraham's Gift* and *Jacob's Vow*, if he had ever intended Tythes should be the Maintenance of his Gospel-Ministers.

What else doth this Assertor of the divine Right of Tythes offer in proof of his Assertion, but Conjectures and Probabilities, as he calls them, as in page 30. where speaking of *Abraham's giving* to God the tenth of all the Spoils, he adds, *As in all Probability he was wont ordinarily to do, of all that he got by God's ordinary Blessing.* So again, pag. 31. T. E. cannot prove *Abraham did not pay Tythes ordinarily, and I can make it appear very probable he did.* Again, *There are ancient Authors and probable Reasons to induce us to believe,* &c. pag. 33. Again, speaking of *Melchizedec* being *Sem*, *We cannot* (says he) *be positive in a matter of so great antiquity: but I hope these things may suffice to make it very probable, that Melchizedec was Abraham's Priest in Ordinary,* pag. 34. And though he is able to shew no better ground then such probable Maybes as these, yet he sticks not to require his Reader's Assent as fully as if he had produced the most positive Proofs and plain Demonstration: for speaking of *Abraham's* pitching upon the Tenth, he says, p. 25. *In all Reason*

son we ought to believe it was at first revealed by almighty God to him, &c. And speaking of Sacrificing being believed to be revealed by God to Adam, he says, *The like we may believe also concerning this of dedicating the tenth part*, pag. 26. Again, speaking of some Heathens that vow'd the Tenth to their Gods, he says, *Which therefore we must believe they had by Tradition from the first Patriarchs, who received it by Revelation from God*, pag. 27. Yet in the next page says, *It is not necessary (since the Scripture is silent) I should determine, whether Abraham was immediately directed to it, or whether he learnt it from Melchizedec*. Thus he argues from may be to must be, and from must be to may be back again, finding nothing firm, nothing certain, whereon to build a divine Right to Tythes.

Yet saith he would have it so, and therefore labours to perswade his Reader, pag. 21. that from the Example of Abraham's Giving and Jacob's Vowing the Tenth, there was a Claim made of this tenth part, as being originally due to God long before. And for this Claim he quotes Levit. 27. 30. *All the Tythes of the Land is the Lord's*. But he greatly mistakes, and mis-applies that Text; for though the tenth, the ninth, the Eighth and the all was originally due to God long before, yet as a tenth, distinct and separate from the rest, it doth not appear to have been due long before, nor seems to be here mention'd by Moses, with relation to any such former Reserve or Claim, but with respect to the Levitical Priesthood, which was then settled in Aaron, the great Grand-child of Levi; for which Priesthood he who was Lord of the whole, when he gave the Lands to the other eleaven Tribes, reserved this as a Subsistence more suitable to their Service, and as a Compensation for their part of the Land.

But the better to colour this Conceit, of Tythes being claimed in *Levit. 27. 30.* as due long before, he perverts another Text, and puts a plain Abuse upon his Reader; for he says, pag. 22. *The first time Tythes are mentioned, Exod. 22. 29. they are not directly enjoyned, but supposed due, and forbid to be with-held:* Whereas in *Ex. 22. 29.* Tythes are not mention'd at all, nor in all the Book of *Exodus*, that I observe, nor else where as enjoyned, supposed due, or forbid to be with-held; until the 27th of *Levit. 30.* mention'd before the words in *Exod. 22. 29.* which he says doth not directly injoin, but supposes Tythe due, and forbids them to be with-held, are these, *Thou shalt not delay to offer the first of thy ripe Fruits, and of thy Liquors; the First-born of thy Sons shalt thou give unto me.* Here is not a word of Tythes; and yet this Priest hath so little regard to Truth, and so much to his own Interest, that he sticks not to say Tythes are in this place mentioned and supposed due. Neither of one part of that which is here mention'd, namely, the First-born, which is here commanded to be given to the Lord, is this the first mention; but it was both mention'd and expressly commanded before, *Exod. 13. 2.* while the People of *Israel* were yet in *Egypt*: and in *Numb. 3. 13.* the very day is assigned whereon God did appropriate this part to himself, and from which (with Reverence so to speak) he dates his Claim thereto: *All the First-born (saith the Lord) are mine; for on the day that I smote all the First-born in the Land of Egypt, I have hallowed unto me all the First-born in Israel, both Man and Beast, mine they shall be; I am the Lord.* Here's the time precisely set down, here's the day expressly mention'd, on which God did sanctifie the First-born to himself, on which (and not till which) he assumed

sumed to himself a peculiar Right to the First-born distinct and separate from the rest, which yet was above four hundred years after *Abraham's Gift to Melchizedec*. Let the Assertors of the Divine Right of Tythes, shew as plainly (if they can) when God did appropriate to himself the Tythe or Tenth Part, distinct from the other nine, before the time of the *Levitical Priesthood*, for whose Maintenance he then appointed it. Can it with any colour of Reason be supposed, that he who so precisely and punctually set down the very day whereon he chose to himself the First-born, which related but to that typical state of the *Jews*, would have given no hint, nor left any Footsteps at all of his Right and Claim to Tythes before the Constitution of the *Levitical Priesthood*, if he had indeed sanctified them to himself before, and intended them to be continued after the Dissolution of that Priesthood, for a Maintenance to his Gospel-Ministers !

S. 4. The Priest saies, pag. 22. *Though God have a right to the tenth part of our Substance, yet he cannot be his own Receiver : So that we are to enquire who must be Gods receiver, and for that, even Reason will teach us, that what is due to the Master, ought to be paid to his next and immediate Servants, that is, to his Priests.*

What he is not able to prove, that he is willing to take for granted. I acknowledge that God, who is Lord of all, hath a right to all our Substance, and may command and dispose the whole, or what part thereof he pleaseth : But that God hath a distinct right to the Tenth, more then to all or any of the other nine parts, and that by the Law of Nature, antecedent to any positive Constitution ; as this Priest makes the As-
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assertors of the divine Right of Tythes to assert, is more than I have yet seen proved either by this, or any other of the Assertors of the divine Right of Tythes, that I have hitherto met with. And till this be proved, 'tis needless to inquire who should be the Receiver: Though even in that also, the Priest falls short, taking that to be a dictate of Reason, which right Reason did never dictate to him: for what is due to the Master, ought to be paid to such of his Servants, as he appoints to receive it, whether they be his next and immediate Servants or not: for it is not their being next unto him, that doth authorize them to be his Receivers, but his deputing them unto that Service.

Again he sayes, pag. 23. *Abraham, in paying his Tythes (which were Gods part) unto Melchizedec the Priest of the most high God, did confirm this dictate of Reason, &c.*

What else is this but begging the Question, and that twice in two lines. He supposes *Abraham* paid his Tythes (which the Scripture no where sayes he did) and that Tythes (as Tythes, as a distinct part) were then Gods part, (which the Scripture no where sayes they were) and if this would be granted him, he would then infer that *Melchizedec* had indeed a Right to Tythes, and perhaps also that from him a right to Tythes might be derived to a Gospel Ministry. But he runs too fast to hold that of which he is willing to make no question, is the main Question in this part of the Controversie, namely, Whether in *Abraham's* time, and antecedent to any positive Constitution, Tythes as Tythes, or a Tenth part distinct from the rest, was any more Gods peculiar part, than the other Nine: And whether *Abraham* in giving (as the Texts express it) the Tenth of his Military Spoils to *Melchizedec*, did
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pay a just debt to *Melchizedec*, which he could not without injustice have with-held; or whether that gift of *Abrahams* was a grateful acknowledgment, and voluntary return of kindness to *Melchizedec*, for his so friendly Congratulation, Fatherly blessing, and bountiful present of Bread and Wine to himself and his weary Followers: This is indeed the sum of the matter, the very thing on which (and which alone) a claim of Tythes from *Melchizedec* to any others, can with any reason be supposed to turn. And if my Opponents, either first or second, would stick to this, and (though but for a while) deny themselves the pleasure and delight they seem to take in railing and reviling, deriding and jeering, insulting and boasting, disdain and scorning; and would apply themselves to manage this Argument with that gravity & seriousness that becomes the Subject, I should not doubt to see this Case brought to a speedy and fair Issue. But then I should expect to meet with more forcible Arguments, more cogent Reasons, more evident Proofs, and plainer Demonstrations than *Suppositions*, Conjectures, Probabilities, Likelihoods, and May-be's; and that which is a poorer way of Reasoning than all the rest, and is indeed too low and mean by much for such lofty pretences to Learning and Scholarship, as my Adversary makes for himself and his Brethren, viz. to put the Defendent to prove the Negative, as he has done me more than once, and more then conduces to the credit of his cause. As in pag. 31. I may ask him (says he) where he reads, that Abraham did not pay them. And a few Lines lower in the same page, T. E. cannot prove Abraham did not pay Tythes ordinarily, and I can make it appear very probable he did.

But he hath so accustomed himself to call *Abraham's*
Gift

Gift a Payment, that forgetting himself, he brings me in as using the same Phrase, as if I also admitted that, which I have offered to much reason against; his words are these, pag. 30. *So that T. E's saying he doth not read in Genesis that Abraham paid his Tythes constantly, is no Argument, &c.*

But where doth *T. E.* say this? He quotes no place, nor indeed had any to quote; for I no where said so; but he hath put a double abuse upon my words, *first*, in making me to say I do not read in *Genesis*, &c. As if I had limited the Story of *Abraham* and *Melchizedec* to the Book of *Genesis* only, or had allowed no Evidence for proof of this pretended Right to Tythes, but what could be found in *Genesis*: And accordingly he playes upon me, *T. E's saying he doth not read in Genesis, — is no argument, unless all that Abraham ordinarily did were recorded there. (to wit, in Genesis)* And, *I may ask him where he reads there (to wit, in Genesis) that Abraham did not pay them, pag. 31. where, as my words were general, 'We do not find throughout the Scriptures, (which is more then in Genesis only) 'any command from God, that Tythes should be paid unto Melchizedec, pag. 278. and 'If Tythes had 'been due from Abraham to Melchizedec, then must 'Abraham have paid Melchizedec Tythes of all his 'Substance, of all that he possesse: But no such thing 'appears at all, pag. 279. What pretence could the Priest have to thrust in Genesis here! But his other abuse in the latter part of the sentence is somewhat more gross. T. E's saying, he doth not read that Abraham paid his Tythes constantly, is, &c.*

These words are not in my Book, but are a meer artifice of his own, to insinuate as if I had yielded that *Abraham paid Tythes at that time, upon that extraordinary*

dinary occasion, and had only seem'd to doubt whether he paid them *constantly* or not: whereas nothing is more plain, then that I all along deny that *Abraham* ever paid Tythes at all. This is an art this Priest is expert at, but I'll assure him 'tis a *black one*, and will never credit him or his Cause. He served me so once or twice before, in his 16. page, quoting me thus, Tythes were wont to be claimed as of divine Right, but I find this Priest is not hardy enough to adventure his cause upon that Title. Whereas my words are not, I find this Priest is not hardy enough; but I do not find this Priest hardy enough. Which variation how small so ever it may seem to some, yet as Illiterate as he takes me to be, I understand the different sense of those two Expressions, and how little he is to be trusted; which I am the more confirm'd in from his next Period, where speaking of me, he sayes, He perswades his *Quakers*, that they who were wont to claim Tythes *de jure divino*, were more bold then wise.

These words were not in my Book, but a suggestion of his to abuse me; for which (whatever I think of others) I have cause enough to think him more bold then honest. Nor has he only gleaned on this passage, but insisted deliberately on it, and presented his false suggestion to the highest advantage he could make of it. For he sayes, *Let us therefore see who and what they were whom T. E. thus Censures: Truly no less (sayes he) than Origen, Cyprian, S. Hierom, S. Augustin, divers Christian Councils of Old, Justinian, and the Imperial Roman Laws, Charles the Great, and the French Capitulars, the Saxon Kings and Councils of this Nation, & all Monarches and Parliaments of later times, particularly K. Henry 8. & Edward 6. together with the most famous common Lawyer's, as also the unconcern'd and incomparably*

comparably learn'd Sr. Hen. Spelman, with divers other excellent Writers, too many to recite.

These were too many to have recited, unless he had had more cause for it : At this rate, he may father what **Falshoods** he pleases upon his Adversary, and then call him an *obscure and empty Quaker*, as he does me; but he may withal assure himself, he shall never by this means acquire the repute of a *just man*, or a *fair Disputant*.

S. 5. He sayes, pag. 23. *T. E. is very impertinent in inquiring what command there is in Scripture to Abraham to pay his Tythes to Melchizedec: for there was not any Scripture at all in Abraham's time.* No doubt he thinks every Body impertinent that calls in question his *beloved Tythes*. But wherein doth the Impertinency lie? I hope a *divine command* for the payment of Tythes had not been Impertinent to his Claim. I am sure a *human command* for the payment of them now is the most pertinent point he has to claim by; and that his Brother Priest understood full well, which made him step so lightly over the former, and stick so close to the latter. But I am impertinent it seems for *inquiring for a command in Scripture*.

Where else I wonder would he have had me inquire ! Is any other Book so pertinent as that to seek a divine Command in? *Ay but*, sayes the Priest, *there was not any Scripture at all in Abraham's time.*

If he means that Writing is not so ancient, he forgets himself; but if he intends that the Scriptures we now have, were not then written (which is more probable) that will not render me a whit the more impertinent for inquiring what command there is in Scripture to *Abraham* to pay Tythes, since we find in Scripture

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ture many Commands are mentioned, which were of a much elder date then the Scriptures in which we read them.

There was as much Scripture to be sure when *Abraham* gave this Gift to *Melchizedec*, as there was before when he was called out of his Country, when Circumcision was instituted, and when *Isaac*, the Heir of Promise, was made an Offering : and yet for every of these (and many other things besides) we have express Command recorded in those Scriptures, which afterwards were written. Nay, if we will look back to the times before the Flood, we shall find a Command to *Noah* for the making of the Ark, *Gen. 6. 14.* And indeed the first Command that ever was given to man, is plainly and fully expressd in *Gen. 2. 16, 17.* And must I needs be impertinent in inquiring what Command there is in Scripture to *Abraham* to pay Tythes, and that upon this only Reason, that there was not any Scripture at all in *Abraham's* time ! If no Command at all had been remembred in Scripture of elder date then the Scripture it self, or then this Act of *Abraham's*, this Exception of the Priest had been less impertinent : but seeing, even from the very infancy of the World, the divine Commands are recorded, and more especially in so many particular Instances in *Abraham's* own time, and to *Abraham* himself, whether is more impertinent, I in calling for a Command in Scripture to prove *Melchizedec's* Right to Tythes, or the Priest in sobbing me off with this evasive Answer, that there was not any Scripture at all in *Abraham's* time, let the understanding Reader judge.

He confesses *Moses* indeed did write a brief History of those times four hundred years after : but since he comprises the space of two thousand three hundred

years in one Book of *Genesis*, it cannot be expected he should set down all particulars; nor in all the Actions of the Patriarchs, shew what Reason they had for, or how they were directed in such an Action, pag. 24.

Though it cannot be expected, that in so brief an History *Moses* should set down all particulars, or shew what Reason the Patriarchs had for, and how they were directed in all their Actions: yet in an Action of so great moment as this is made, from which so large a claim and weighty Title is derived, it may reasonably be expected he should have been more particular, full and plain; and would no doubt have been so, had the Divine Wisdom, by which he writ, intended Tythes to be a Gospel-Maintenance, and to be claimed from hence.

How many other Passages, which seem to be less material, doth he insist more largely on, as the Description of Places, the Names of Rivers, Mountains, Towns, &c? How exact is he in setting down the Fashion and Dimensions of the Ark; how punctual in computing the time of the Flood's beginning, increase, continuance and decrease, not contenting himself with the year only, or with the Moneth, but adding even the very day? And when he comes to *Abraham's* time, he gives the very Circumstances of the things he treats of, as in the account of his going into *Aegypt*, and what befel him there, *Gen.* 12. his parting with *Lot*, and the Occasion thereof, Chap. 13. the memorable Battel fought in the Vale of *Siddim*, between four Kings and five, the Occasion of that War, the Names of the Kings on either side, and of the place where the Battel was pitcht, twice over, the Success of the Fight, the Plunder of *Sodom*, and *Lot's* Captivity,

tivity; *Abraham's Muster, Pursuit, and Rescue, Gen. 14.* In every of which he is more particular then in this Passage of *Abraham's giving Melchizedec Tythes*; which as it was done upon an accidental Occasion, so *Moses* runs over it, as briefly as may be, giving it only a transient touch: And indeed, the whole Passage seems to be but a kind of Parenthesis; for in the 17th Verse *Moses* says, *The King of Sodom went out to meet Abram* (after his return from the Slaughter of *Chedorlaomer*, and of the Kings that were with him) *at the Valley of Shaveh, which is the King's Dale.* Then in the next Verse, he mentions *Melchizedec*; *And Melchizedec, King of Salem, brought forth Bread and Wine: and he was the Priest of the most high God.* Vers. 18. *And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God Possessor of Heaven and Earth.* Vers. 19. *And blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine Enemies into thine hand. And he gave him Tythe of all,* Vers. 20. This is the full and whole Account which *Moses* gives of this matter; and then immediately in the next words resumes his Discourse of the King of Sodom, Vers. 21. *And the King of Sodom said unto Abram, Give me the Persons, &c.* What could he have said less? How could he have mention'd this Passage of *Abraham's giving Tythes* in fewer words, and with less remark! which cannot reasonably be imputed to the brevity of his History, by any one that shall duly consider how copious he is upon other Subjects, setting down at large even the smallest Circumstances, as besides the former instances, will plentifully appear in the story of *Abraham's Servant fetching a Wife for Isaac, Gen. 24.* Of *Jacob's supplanting his Brother, Chap. 27.* Of his Service with *Laban, Chap. 19, 20, 21.* To omit the story of *Joseph's being sold into Egypt*, and what beset

besel both him and his Brethren there. But this is an Art the Priest hath, to perswade his Reader there is more in this Passage then the brevity of the History would give room to express. The History was written by *Moses*, who was *inspired thereto* by God, and as it is *irrational* to imagine that this Passage of *Abraham's* giving Tythes to *Melchizedec*, would have been past over so lightly, and left so bare, if it had had relation to future Ages, & that in the Times of the Gospel, a Right to Tythes was to be derived from hence (as the Author of the *Friendly Conference* says it is, pag. 135.) so it is great Impiety to suggest that any thing was here omitted, which it was necessary for the Church of God to know and understand. The Spirit of God hath said expressly, *Abraham gave Tythes of all*. The Spirit of God hath said expressly, *It was the Spoils which Abraham gave the Tenth of, Heb. 7. 4.* And who is man, that he should take upon him to add or alter! Darest thou say he *paid*, when God says he *gave*! Darest thou say, it was of his *own Substance*, when God says it was of the *Spoils*! Darest thou say, he did this *ordinarily*, when the Spirit of God hath thought fit to mention this *one only extraordinary time*! *Add thou not unto his Words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a Lyar, Prov. 30. 6.*

S. 6. But he says, p. 29. *To give and to pay is all one in this Case, or else the Apostle was over-seen, who not only saith he gave the Tenth, Heb. 7. 4. but, Levi paid Tythes in Abraham, Vers. 9.*

Neither is to give and to pay all one in this case, nor yet was the Apostle over-seen: for the Apostle most properly accommodates his Speech to the *several times* it had relation to. When he speaks in Vers. 4. of *Abraham*,

Abraham, in whom it was a *free* and voluntary Gift, he uses the word *Gave*, as *Moses* had done before him; but when in *Verf. 9.* he speaks of *Levi* (whom he figuratively mentions, with an [as I may so say] for he speaks not personally of *Levi* himself, but of his Offspring, the *Levitical* Priest-hood who received Tythes which *Levi* never did himself) then I say, *referring to the time of the Law*, in which God had commanded the payment of Tythes, he expresses himself by the word *Gave*. So that it is manifest he *varied* his Expression according to the persons he treated of, and the *different times* his Speech had relation to. When he speaks of *Abraham*, who lived *before* Tythes were commanded to be paid, he says he *Gave*, *vers. 4.* But when he speaks of the *Levitical* Priest-hood, who lived *after* Tythes were commanded to be paid, he alters his phrase, and says he *Paid*, *vers. 9.* *Abraham gave, Levi paid*, which distinction the Apostle needed not have used, had he understood (as this Priest does) giving and paying to be all one in this case.

It is very proper (he says) *to say, We give a man that which is his due*, pag. 29.

That must be understood in such cases only, where the *due* is altogether certain and unquestionable, such as are the instances he has given of *David & Hezekiah*, one whereof saith, *Give unto the Lord the honour due unto his Name*, *Psal. 29. 2.* The other commanded the People to *give the Priests their portions*, *2 Chron. 31. 4.* Neither of which admitted any doubt, since every one knew that Honour was due to the Name of the Lord, and none could be ignorant that Tythes were due to the Priests, then the Law of God expressly speaking it. But in a case of so great ambiguity as this claim of Tythes from *Melchizedec*, which is so utterly void

void of all certainty, that the very terms it is express'd in, must confirm at least, if not constitute a Title to the thing claimed, to express a Due, by the word Give, would be not only not very proper, but very improper and obscure: So that what he sayes, pag. 30. *That the word Give in Genesis 14. doth no more prove Tythes were not due to Melchizedec, jure divino, than the same in Chronicles proves they were not due to the Levites, jure divino, will not hold.* The disproportion between *Melchizedec's* case, and that of the *Levites*, is too great; unless he could shew as plain a command for the former, as he knows can be brought for the latter. The word *Give* in *Chronicles*, doth no way prejudice the *Levites* Right, because it was undeniably ground'd upon an indisputable Command: But the word *Give* in *Genesis* doth greatly prejudice the pretended Right of *Melchizedec*, because there is no command in Scripture, from which such a Right might be derived. After the same manner argues the other Priest in his Vindication of the Conference, pag. 295. urging for an Example the words of *Joshua*, Chap. 7. Ver. 19. [*My Son, give Glory to God*] which being the same with that of *David*, *Psal.* 29. 2. is answered in that. But he seems to take it a little ill, that I took no notice of a Greek word he had in his Margin, Conference, pag. 135. viz. *ἡδυνάτωκε τὸν Ἀβραάμ*, which he renders *He shed Abraham*; and sayes in his Vindication, pag. 296. Now since T. E. pretends to understand Greek, and this passage being in my Book, how came he to pass it by?

I pass'd it by as believing it to be of no moment at all; since if I should allow him even his own rendition, [*He Tyth'd Abraham*] it imports no more then [*He receiv'd Tythes of Abraham*] as both *Beza's* *Latine*, and the vulgar *English* have it, *Heb.* 7. 6. beyond which

which sense if he would strain it, the word will not bear it: verily, it is an Argument of a very weak Cause, when men are put to such hard shifts, as to squeeze a Title out of one perticular and extraordinary Action, and are fain to strain the words also, whereby that action is exprest, to give some countenance to their Claim. But blessed be God, the *Holy Ghost* hath hedged them out, and either through propriety of Speech, or divine Providence (let them grant which they please) hath so worded this Transaction, that in both those Texts where it is spoken of, there is no mention at all of Due or Payment with relation to *Abraham*, but altogether of giving. *Thrice over it is said, He gave, Gen. 18. 20. Heb. 7. 2. and 4. but never that he paid.*

§. 7. To prove, that Tythes were accounted due in this Period before the Law, he urges, *The practise of certain of the Heathens giving Tythes to their Gods*, whereof some seem more perticular, some more general. The more perticular instances are, of the *Tyrrians* and *Carthaginians*, the Inhabitants of the Island *Syplonus*, and the *Romans*. The more general are of the *Greeks*; for which he cites *Dydimus the Grammarian*, and of all *Heathens* in general, for which he quotes *Paulus Diaconus*. 'Tis true, *Dydimus* sayes, *It was a Greek Custome to Consecrate the Tenth of their gain to the Gods*: But how that saying of his is to be understood, *Selden* in his History of Tythes, c. 3. well observes, *He* (sayes he) *those Grammarians mean* (for he mentioned *Suidas* also) *that all men paid their Tythes in Greece, and that of every kind of their Spoils or abundance, they deceive much, and are deceived: You must understand them as speaking of what was sometimes, and by Vow, or special Thanksgiving done.* The other out of

Paulus Diaconus, which sayes, *The Ancients offered all their Tenth to their Gods*; is rejected both by *Scaliger* and *Selden* also, who shew that *Paulus* (Epitomizing *Sextus Pompeius Festus*, to whom this saying is Originally ascribed) has mangled and corrupted the place, and he is severely lash't for his Pains by them both, especially by *Scaliger*, whose words are, *vide quantum juris Barbarus ille sibi sumpserit in hoc loco mutilando!* i. e. See what Authority that Barbarous man takes upon him in maiming this place. And further calls him home *confidentissimus ac ineptissimus*. A most confident and foolish man. And *Selden* sayes plainly, *If it be understood of Tythes used to be given by all, or of all things, it is false*. Nor did that learned man stick to draw an Argument against this Opinion from Scripture silence, Scripture I mean, not sacred, but prophane, the Writings namely of a Learned Heathen? *Had the Offering of Tythes* (sayes *Selden* in his History of Tythes, pag. 29.) *been usual of Yearly increase*; *Cato*, that in his *De Re Rustica*, hath so fully the Ceremonies of Sacrifices to be used by the Husband-man in his Harvest, had never omitted it. Whence by the way observe that Argument from Scripture silence, though prophane has been held good by men of Learning, although this Priest, to avoid the stroke of it, sayes it is not valid Right of Tythes, pag. 37. But to the Testimonies brought, all acknowledge that some of the Heathens did at some times, and upon some occasions, Vow, Give, and Consecrate Tythes to their Deities: and *Selden* proves it was no otherwise: Nay, he instances in some (the *Locrians*) who gave not a Tenth, but a Ninth part, C. 3. S. 3. And *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, (l. 2. c. 2.) *The Egyptian Priests had the third part of the Revenue of the Kingdom*. From all which

we may gather that these *Heathenish* Oblations and Consecrations were neither *general* in point of place, *constant* in point of time, nor *certain* in point of quantity. Then for the ground of their thus doing, if it be ask't whence they learnt it, the Priest himself answers, *It was propagated by Tradition among the Heathens*, Right of Tythes, pag. 26. again, which therefore we must believe they had by *Tradition from the first Patriarchs*, pag. 27. That they received it by *Tradition* is probable enough, though not from the first *Patriarchs*, who are no where in Holy Writ, remembred to have paid Tythes. But from the *Jews*, by whom Tythes were preceptively and constantly paid, there is reason sufficient to perswade they might learn it. And so it seem'd to Selden, *The payment of the Tenth* (sayes he, c. 3. pag 34.) *very likely came to them (the Arabians) from the use of it among the Jews, their Neighbours, as also to the Carthaginians from their Ancesters the Pœnicians, that spake the same Language with the Jews, and conversed most with them.* Now if the *Gentiles* practised it in imitation, and by example of the *Jews*, what relation has their practice to this first Period, or time before the *Law*? But whether it be more reasonable to think, that the *Gentiles* received it by *Tradition* from the first *Patriarchs*, by whom we never read that Tythes were above once actually given, and once Vowed to be given, or from the *Jews*, by whom they were constantly and publickly paid, I leave to the Readers judgment, and will conclude this Paragraph with what concludes the Review of Selden's Chap. 3. pag. 459. where having shewed that the *Pelasgi* in *Umbria* Sacrificed the Tythe of their Children to *Apollo*, See now, sayes he, (*when you truly know the ancient Tything among the Gentiles*) how well they conclude here, that draw an Argument

from the general Law of Nature or Nations, as if by that Law any such use of payment of Tythes had been established amongst them, as was continual or compulsory.

§. 8. In my Answer to the former Priest, p. 278. amongst other Reasons which I offer'd to prove that Tythes was not a proper Debt, or just Due from *Abraham* to *Melchizedec*, this was one, 'That if Tythes had been due from *Abraham* to *Melchizedec* (according as they are now demanded, which must be proved before a Divine Right to them, as they are now demanded, can be derived from *Melchizedec*) then must *Abraham* have paid Tythes of all his Substance, of all that he possess'd. But no such thing appears at all. We do not read that *Abraham* gave him Tythes of his own Estate; but that which he gave him the tenth of was the Spoils which he had recover'd from the Kings that had plunder'd *Sodom*. To this the Author of the *Right of Tythes* thus answers, p. 30. That was an extraordinary occasion, wherein *Abraham* having got a Victory by God's Blessing, did give to God the tenth of all he had now gotten; as in all probability he was wont ordinarily to do, of all that he got by God's ordinary Blessing: only this (as more especially remarkable) is recorded in this short History.

Seeing this was an extraordinary Occasion, he should not urge it for a *President*, much less lay so great a stress upon it as he does. Let him read what his Brother Priest says in page 127. of his *Conference*, 'When any Text (says he) hath a relation to a particular Case, that Text must not stand for a General Rule, but must be apply'd to a like Occasion; for its a most grand Fallacy to draw an universal Conclusion from particular Premises. Now these Texts in *Gen.* 18. and *Heb.* 7. (wherein *Abraham's* Gift to *Melchizedec* is mention-
ed)

ed) have relation to a particular Case, to an extraordinary Occasion, as the Priest himself says, therefore *These Texts must not stand for a General Rule*; but if he will apply them at all, he must apply them to a like Occasion, to wit, a Military Expedition, wherein some notable Victory is in an extraordinary manner obtained, as this was; not set them for a general Rule: for according to his Brother's Position, *it is a most grand Fallacy, from particular Premises, as this Gift of Abraham upon an extraordinary Occasion was, to draw an universal Conclusion, that Abraham ordinarily did pay Tythes, and that Christians now must.* Thus then he is pincht off of his extraordinary hold, by his own dear Sir, the Author of the *Friendly Conference*. And for what he talks of *Abraham's giving the tenth ordinarily*, he hath far less ground then for the former; for in the former, (viz. that *Abraham* on that extraordinary Occasion did give and *Melchizedec* receive) he may as to fact be positive, though not as to intention: but in the latter, (viz. that *Abraham* did ordinarily give the tenth of his ordinary increase) he can be but suppositive at most. His Arguments and Reasons are *may-be's* and *likelihoods*, and his Proofs but *probabilities*, strongly inforced with this notable *Demonstration*, that *it is not said in Scripture Abraham did not pay them*, and that *I cannot prove the contrary*, pag. 30, 31. Will he take it then for granted that *Abraham* did whatsoever I cannot prove he did not? That would be pretty indeed.

After the same manner the other Priest also argues (in his Vindication, pag. 296.) where to my saying, 'Had Tythes been due to *Melchizedec*, then must *Abraham* have paid him Tythes of all his Substance, &c. He replies, *We know nothing to the contrary but that he did so; and I can affirm the one, as well as he deny the other.*

Is this like a Disputant ? It is enough for a Respondent to deny : But is it enough for the Opponent to affirm ? He says else-where in his *Conference*, p. 152. *It is the Opponent's part to prove.* That is somewhat more I think then bare affirming. And the Maxime is, *Affirmanti incumbit probatio ; i. e. He that affirms must prove.* But (in his *Vindication*, pag. 296.) he adds, that *The Spoils were in strictness Abraham's own Estate, having obtained them with the hazard of his Life, in a Just and Righteous War.*

This is indeed a pretty fetch ; yet so plain and manifest a fetch, that it will not stand him in any stead. Whether the Spoils were strictly *Abraham's* own Estate by the Law of Arms, I will not undertake to determine ; especially since it appears by the story, that *Aner, Eshcol* and *Mamre* were his confederates, and ran equal hazard of their Lives with him in the same War, and that he took not upon him to dispose of the whole (although to the King of *Sodom*, from whom it was taken) but left his Confederates to dispose of their own shares as they saw good, *Gen. 14. 13, 24.* However, whether it was in strictness his own Estate or no, to be sure it was not his own Estate in that sense wherein I spake it, and wherein Tythes are now demanded. So that his urging this here, is altogether beside the business, and at best but a shew of an Answer.

But he carps at my saying, ' The Occasion of *Abraham's* thus giving the tenth of the Spoil to *Melchizedec* seems to be altogether accidental. This seems to him to be a meer Trifle ; and he says, (*Vindication*, pag. 197.) *As meer an accidental Passage as the Quaker would have this to be, yet the Apostle draws a solid argument from thence.*

What then ? May not a solid Argument be drawn from

from an accidental Passage? Let any one considerately read the place (in *Gen. 14.*) and see if he can find any ground to believe either that *Abraham* came thither with an intention to pay Tythes, or that *Melchizedec* came thither with an expectation to receive Tythes: and not rather, that *Melchizedec* understanding *Abraham's* Success and Return, went forth to meet him, and congratulate his Victory, bringing with him a Present of Bread and Wine, to refresh him and his Soldiers after the Fight: In Requital of which Noble and Princely Present *Abraham* gave him the tenth of the Spoils.

§. 9. The Author of the *Right of Tythes* finds fault with my arguing, because it is negative, and says, p. 31. *My negative arguing is of no more force, then it would be if I should say, those Ante-diluvian Patriarchs, did nothing else while they lived but beget Sons and Daughters, because no more is recorded of many of them, Gen. 5.*

Negative arguing I thought had been proper for him whose part it is to deny; as it belongs to him to prove, who undertakes to affirm. But waving that, I thus answer to the substance of his Objection. Although the Patriarchs before the Flood did doubtless something else then beget Sons and Daughters, yet nothing that they did which the Spirit of God thought fit to pass by unrecorded, had any relation to future times, or was to be Exemplary to the Church of God in after Ages. The like concerning *Abraham*. 'Tis not to be doubted but he did more then is recorded of him. But that then, whatsoever it was, had no relation to future times, nor was to be Exemplary to the Church of God in

in after Ages; for if it had, the Spirit of God, who recorded what is written, would not have omitted that. So that take it which way he will, this Dilemma will attend him; either that *Abraham* did not pay Tythes ordinarily, and so there was nothing of that to be recorded, or that if he did pay Tythes ordinarily, his so doing had no relation to future times, nor was to be Exemplary to the Church of God in after Ages, and therefore was not recorded. Hence then, I hope, my negative arguing (as he calls it) will appear to be of sufficient force to prove, that a Right to Tythes now cannot be grounded on, or derived from any Act that *Abraham* did, which the divine Spirit did not think fit to record: for what the Priest says in another place, pag. 62. *Expressus nocent, non expressa non nocent*, i. e. *Those things that are express hurt, those things that are not express hurt not*, is very true, if it be rightly apply'd. But as they hurt not him against whom they are urged, so they help not him by whom they are urged, which he should have done well to have consider'd. I'll therefore invert his Axiom (which holds as true the one way as the other) and present it to him again; *Expressa profunt, non expressa non profunt*, i. e. *Those things that are express do help, those things which are not express do not help*. All his Pretences then of *Abraham's* paying Tythes ordinarily (how oft soever he repeats them) *not being express*; but leaning on Conjecture, do him no good at all; they cannot help him, nor stand him in any stead.

§. 10. In his next Section he is offended with me for saying, Tythes could not be due to *Melchizedec* upon a Right founded in natural Justice and Equity; my words

(pag.

(p. 280.) are these, 'He cannot plead that Tythes were due to *Melchizedec* upon a Right founded in natural Justice & Equity, since there was not in those days any settled publick Worship, wherein he could perform any outward Priestly Office or Service, for which Tythes might have been a Compensation. He in the reciting of this Sentence, leaves out the words *outward service*, that he might have the more room to strike at me, and call me (as he does pag. 35.) *a poor Quaker, as bold as blind*, saying, that *I have exposed my self to the Scorn of all knowing men by this absurd Position.*

If the Position appear absurd, it is he that hath made it look so, by mangling it. But as it stands in my Book I am not ashamed to own it. And if he or any other can shew me what settled publick Worship there was in *Abraham's* dayes, in which any outward Priestly Office or Service was to be perform'd, for which Tythes might have been a Compensation, I will acknowledge him to be a knowing man indeed.

He says, He might confute this Position from that place of *Gen. 4. 26. Then began men to call upon the Name of the Lord; which must* (he says) *be meant in publick; for in private they did it before, ibid.*

Methinks his copious Reading should not suffer him to be ignorant of the various Judgments of Learned Men concerning this Text, whether it should be rendered, *Then began men to call upon*, or *then began men to prophane the Name of the Lord*; I think it not safe for me to exercise my small Schollarship in the disquisition. Let it suffice for my little Reading to observe, that *Hierom* reads it not in the plural (as our English Translation is) *Then began men to call, &c.* but in the singular of *Enos*, *Iste cepit invocare nomen Domini; He (Enos) began to call upon the Name of the Lord.*

And *Pagnine*, though he turns the Text, *Tunc captum est ad invocandum in nomine Domini*; yet adds in the Margin, *Invocari nomen, vel pollui, i. e. To call upon or pollute the Name, &c.* But *Tremellius* and *Junius* read it down-right *prophane*, *Tunc captum est profanari in invocando nomine Domini, i. e. Then began men to prophane in calling upon the Name of the Lord*; to which *Genebrard*, *Broughton*, and others assent. And indeed the sequel of the Story shews those times more inclined to *Prophaneness* than *Piety*, for in all those six Generations between *Enos* and *Noah*, we find but *one* man, *Enoch* only, that is said to have walked with God, *Gen. 5.* and in the 6th and 7th Chapters we read, the Wickedness of men was grown to that *bright*, that God repented he had made man, and by an universal Deluge swept all Mankind away, excepting only *Noah* and his Family, which were in all but Eight Souls. All which being duly weighed, I leave it to the judicious Reader's consideration, whether in those times there was any *settled publick* Worship, wherein any *outward Priestly Office* or Service was to be performed, for which Tythes might have been a *Compensation*.

But he argues, that *Melchizedeck* did perform God's *publick* Worship solemnly and constantly at *Salem*; and by that had a Right founded in natural Justice and Equity, to receive Tythes from all within his Jurisdiction.

And this he infers from *Moses's* calling him the Priest of the most high God, from *St. Paul's* making him a Type of *Christ's* Priesthood, and from his fixed Residence at *Salem*, p. 36.

This has indeed as fair an appearance as any of the Probabilities he has yet brought forth; yet this will not do his business. For here is not in all this any mention of any *settled publick* Worship, wherein he could perform

perform any *outward Priestly Office* or Service, for which Tythe might have been a *Compensation*. No such thing is here exprest; and according to the Axiom which the Priest himself uses (pag. 62) *Non expressa non nocent, those things that are not exprest, do not hurt*. Besides, his being called the Priest of the most high God, doth not necessarily infer an Exercise of such a *settled publick Worship* as my words import, which had relation to *external Rites and Ceremonies*, as the word [*outward Service*] in my Book (which the Priest left out) do plainly evidence; so that he might well enough be called the Priest of the most high God, and yet have no such *outward Priestly Office* or Service to perform in any *settled publick Worship*, for which Tythes might have been a *Compensation*. And indeed, my Opponent himself, describing *Melchizedec's Worship*, doth sufficiently shew it was of another kind then what my words had relation to. For he says, pag. 39. *His Worship was altogether spiritual, praising God, praying for Abraham; offering no bloody Sacrifices, but ONLY bringing forth Bread and Wine*. So also says Sparrow in his *Rationale of the Common Prayer*, pag. 338, 339. *Melchizedec had no other Offering that we read of, but Bread and Wine*. Whereas it is plain my words aimed at such a *settled publick Worship* as consisted in *external Services*. But sure he doth not think that *Melchizedec* did pray for *Abraham* and bring out Bread and Wine constantly at *Salem*: For that he ever did either the one or other constantly, or any more then that one time, is NOT EXPREST, nor likely.

Then for his having a *fixed place of Residence* at *Salem*, which is another part of my Opponent's Argument, upon which he grounds his Question, *What is a Priest fixed in a City for?*

It is to be considered, that his *Residence* at *Salim* is not mention'd with relation to his *Priesthood*, but to his *Kingship*; he was *King of Salem*, that was Reason enough for his *Residence* there. So *Moses* calls him, *Gen.* 14. 18. And so the *Apostle* twice together, *Heb.* 7. 1, 2. But neither of them called him *Priest of Salem*, much less affirmed (as my Opponent does) that he had a Right founded in natural Justice and Equity, to receive Tythes from all within his Jurisdiction of *Salem*, for praising God, praying for *Abraham*, and only bringing forth Bread and Wine.

§. 11. But my Adversary, not content with *Melchizedec's* being the Priest of the most high God, will needs have him to be *Abraham's Priest in ordinary too*, pag. 33, 34 Not considering perhaps, that himself had set *Abraham* (according to *St. Hierom's* computation, as he saith) twenty two Miles from *Melchizedec*, a distant somewhat of the largest for a Priest in Ordinary; and yet he placed them as near together as he could too. For though he sayes *St. Jerom* computes the plain of *Mamre*, which is *Hebron*, where *Abraham* dwelt, to be but twenty two Miles distant from *Jerusalem*, yet he should not be ignorant of the different Judgments of the Antients about the place; some taking *Salem* to be *Jerusalem*, others not. And that *Hierom* there delivers the Opinion of others, not his own, which was far otherwise, viz. that *Salem* and *Mamre* were about eighty Miles asunder, as *Selden* notes in the Review of the first Chapter of his History of Tythes, pag. 452. Yet to countenance this conceit of his, that *Melchizedec* was *Abraham's Priest in Ordinary*, he tells us what the *Jews* think, viz. that *Melchizedec* did continue to be the Priest of *Abraham's Family* long after: for when
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the Twins struggled in the Womb of Rebekca, it is said, She went to inquire of the Lord, Gen. 25. 22. that is (sayes he) by Sem, say the Hebrews, or by Melchizedec, as others, pag. 33. 34.

For the Opinion of the Hebrews, that she inquired by Sem, he quotes *Lyra*: and for the Opinion of others, that she inquired by Melchizedec, he quotes *Junius* and *Tremellius* upon that place, which is Gen. 25. 22.

Lyra I have not by me, but *Tremellius* and *Junius* I have. And considering with my self how greatly he hath abused me in the mis-reciting of my words, I thought it would not be amiss to examine his quotation, and see whither he had dealt any fairer with them. But when I had turned to the place, and there read in the Text, *Abiit ad consulendum Jehoram*, and in the Annotation upon it, *per aliquem Prophetam, fortasse socerum, qui idem dicitur Propheta supra, 20. 7.* I must confess I was amazed, and somewhat troubled, to think I had to do with one of so great confidence and so little honesty. For he affirms expressly that *Junius* and *Tremellius* upon this place say, *Rebekca* went to inquire of the Lord by *Melchizedec*, whereas *Junius* and *Tremellius* upon this place make no mention at all of *Melchizedec*, but say plainly, *She went to inquire of the Lord, by some Prophet, perhaps by her Husbands Father* (which was Abraham) *who himself is called a Prophet before, in C. 20. 7.* Who would have thought a man of his Learning would have been beholding to a false Quotation! Who would have suspected one of his Abilities would have served one such a slippery trick! Did he think, because he had a mean illiterate Adversary to deal with, he might therefore quote anything without danger of discovery? or did he hope no man of understanding would take

take the pains to read him? O lucky man at least in this, that he hath not publisht his Name with his *Books*? which if he had, I am confident he would have exposed himself as fully to the scorn of all sincere and knowing men, by this *Forgery*, as he fancies I have done myself by that which he calls an absurd position. But for my part, I shall wonder the less hereafter at his unfair dealing with me, whom he calls a *poor Retailer and Gleaner*, since I find even those men, whom I suppose he himself need not be ashamed to Glean after, receive no better treatment at his Hands. But concerning the Question it self, Whether *Rebecca* went to inquire of the Lord by *Melchizedec* or some other? not only the seventy, and *Epiphanius* (whom he makes to be misled by following their Chronology) but *Arius Montanus*, in his *Chronologia sacra Scriptura*, and *Hugh Broughton*, in his *Consent of Scripture*, make *Sem* to be dead some Years before *Rebecca's* conception; whose Computations if we may credit, we must conclude either that *Melchizedec* was not *Sem*, or (which is more likely) that *Rebecca* went not to inquire of *Melchizedec*, her Father in-Law, *Abraham*, being a Prophet and at hand.

S. 12. In his 37. page, he charges me with a gross mistake, in saying, I do not find any one Instance (this single gift of *Abraham's* excepted) of giving or receiving Tythes, in all that four Hundred Years between this time of *Abraham* and the *Levitical Priesthood*: For he sayes, There is a plain Instance in holy *Yacob*, Gen. 28. 22. who made a solemn Vow to give unto God the Tenth of all his Gains.

If he would have convicted me of a mistake, he should have brought an Instance of giving Tythes, not
of

of *vowing* them only. My words have respect to the *act* of giving; his Instance to the *intention* chiefly: I was not ignorant that *Jacob* had made a conditional Vow to give; nor did I question his performance of his Vow; but I observed that the Holy Ghost had buried it in silence, not vouchsafing to record it for an Instance. And thereupon I said, I do not find any one *instance* (this single Gift of *Abraham's* excepted) of *giving* or *receiving*, much less of *demanding* or *paying* Tythes in all that space, &c. Which words of *giving* or *receiving*, *demanding* or *paying* have a manifest relation to the *ultimate* act or performance, of which the Holy Ghost hath not thought fit to leave an Instance; which silent Omission of the Holy Ghost hath no reflection on *Jacob's* integrity, but only argues that the thing it self was not by God designed for our Example.

But let him call this a mistake of mine, yea, a gross mistake, if he please, and thereupon exercise (as he does) the levity of his Wit, and ease himself of a frothy Jest, he can not thereby hurt me; whatever he may himself. I'll therefore take the less notice of that, and apply my self to consider *Jacob's* Vow; which not being mentioned at all by the former Priest, I had no occasion to take notice of, in my Answer to him. I find this *Vow* of *Jacob* was made upon an *extraordinary* occasion, as well as that Gift of *Abraham*. *Jacob* being afraid of *rough Esau*, who had threatned to take away his Life, was fain to leave his Fathers House and Country; and with his *Staff* only to flee to *Padam Aram* to his Uncle *Laban* for refuge; and being on his way benighted, he lay down on the Ground to Sleep, having no other Pillow for his Head then an heap of Stones. In this distressed condition did the Lord God appear unto him in a Dream, and said, *I am the Lord God of Abraham*
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thy Father, and the God of Isaac: the Land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy Seed. And thy Seed shall be as the Dust of the Earth; and thou shalt spread abroad to the West, and to the East, and to the North, and to the South: and in thee and in thy Seed shall all the Families of the Earth be blessed: And behold I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again unto this Land: for I will not leave thee, until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of, Gen. 28. Jacob hereupon awaking in the sense of Gods presence, and seiz'd with fear at so wonderful an appearance, set up his stony Pillow for a Monumental Pillar, and calls that place the House of God. And as the Lord had freely, *unrequested*, made him so gracious and so large a Promise; so he again, in token of his thankfulness to God, *freely and unrequir'd*, did vow a Vow, saying, *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Rayment to put on; so that I come again to my Father's House in peace: then shall the Lord be my God. And this Stone which I have set for a Pillar, shall be Gods House: And of all that thou shalt give me, I will surely give the Tenth unto thee, Gen. 28.* This is the Vow, and this the occasion of making it; which was both *voluntary* and *conditional*, *Voluntary*, in being *unrequired*; *Conditional*, in depending on the performance of Gods promise to him, as the conditional Par-ticle [If] demonstrates. Had Tythes been then a di-vine *Tribute*, he needed not have *vowed* to Give them; justice would have *obliged* him to have *paid* them, whether he had Vow'd or no. Nor had it then been in his Power to have made his Obligation *conditional* (as he did) but Tythes he must have paid, whether God had been with him, preserved him in his way, and brought him

him back in peace, or no. This Vow of Jacob's therefore, being *spontaneous* and altogether *free*, Contributes nothing at all to the making up of a divine Right to Tythes.

§. 13. Another passage in my Book that seems to gall him sore, is this, *If Tythes had been due to Melchizedec, yet could not the Clergy of this Age derive any Right from him to them, in as much as they are not of his Priest-hood: To this he sayes, I hope T. E. will grant, that Christ was of his Priest-hood. And if he grant this, we must ask, whether or no his Apostles were not his Successors? and then, whether we do not derive our Succession from them?* pag. 39.

That Christ was of his Priest-hood I grant, and that his Apostles were Followers of him: But that these Priests are Followers of the Apostles, as the Apostles were of Christ, I deny; and think it would be worth their while to prove. He sayes, *Melchizedec had the same Priest-hood with the Ministers of the Gospel.*

In some respects it may be called the same; but what's that to him, unless he also were a Minister of the Gospel! He can produce (he sayes, pag. 40) *the plain words of many Fathers, affirming, that the present Ministers of the Christian Church are of Melchizedec's Priest-hood.*

This is very smoothly and crustily worded to beguile an unwary Reader, and make him believe the *present* Ministers have the approbation of those Fathers. What Ministers I pray must the Word *Present* here be understood to relate to, the *then present*, or the *now present*? If he intends the *then present* Ministers, that lived in the several Ages of those Fathers (as he calls them) he plainly shuffles and evades; for the question was not concerning *them*, but the Clergy of *this Age* expressly.

But if by *present* he means the *now present* Ministers, the Clergy of *this present Age*, what could he have said more absurd, as well as false, then that he can produce the plain words of St. *Hierom*, *Chrysostom*, *Augustine*, *Epiphanius* and *Theophilact* (the latest of whom has been dead wellnear a Thousand Years) affirming that the *present* Ministers (the Clergy of *this Age*) are of *Melchizedec's* Priest-hood. But seeing he *leans so hard* upon the judgment of certain Fathers (as he calls them) whose plain words he sayes he can produce, but does not; I will produce him the plain words of one, (I will not say a Father, but) a great Man in the *English Church*, *Andrew Willet*, who in his *Synopsis of Popery*, fifth general Controversie, pag. 315. sayes, 'It is great Blasphemy to say, that every *Popish* Priest is after the order of *Melchizedec*. And a little after, 'The Scripture maketh this difference between the Priest-hood of *Aaron*, and the Priest-hood of *Melchizedec*, that the Priests of the Law were many, because they were taken away by Death: but Christ's Priest-hood is eternal, because he dieth not, *Heb. 7. 23*. 'But if there should be many Priests after *Melchizedec's* Order, there should herein be no difference at all. Wherefore seeing *Melchizedec's* Priest-hood only resteth in Christ, and is not Translated to any other, &c. Thus *Willet*, and to the same purpose said *Fulk* before him. Now if the Priests Fathers have in plain words affirmed, That the present Ministers of the *Christian Church* are of *Melchizedec's* Priest-hood; the Priest may do well to reconcile those Fathers with these Doctors (for so were these also stiled) who so plainly affirm that *Melchizedec's* Priest-hood only resteth in Christ, and is not Translated to any other. But the reason I formerly gave why the Clergy of this Age

are

are not of *Melchizedec's* Priest-hoods, seems to offend him more then all the rest. It was this, *That Melchizedec was not made a Priest after the Law of a carnal Commandment, but a'ter the Power of an endless Life. But every one knows, that these men are made Priests after the Law of a carnal Commandment.* This has so nettled him, that he is out of all patience, sayes, *my Reason is ridiculous, that I have learnt to Cant, that I am an idle and impertinent man, that this is an impudent Slander, that T.E. can prattle in Scripture phrase, that I am a boasting Quaker, and will not stick to say any thing, be it never so false and unreasonable.*

This is the Language that this Learned man (who sayes he will not meddle with *scurrility*, because *Railing* is not Reasoning, pag. 12.) hath upon this occasion, for want of better Arguments, (or breeding, or both) thrust in to help swell the number of his pages. But overlooking this, let us see what else he has to offer that looks at all like Reason. He sayes, pag. 41. *The Apostle speaking of the Jewish Priests in that place (Heb. 7. 16.) saith, They were made Priests after the Law of a carnal Commandment, that is, according to Moses's Law, which consisted of outward and weak Commandments, reaching only to the purifying of the Flesh. Now (sayes he) what an idle and impertinent Man is this, to say, we are made Priests according to Moses's Law, and that every one knows this! O impudent Slander! Are we bound to all the Sacrificings, Washings, and other Levitical Rights and Ceremonies, at our Ordination?*

I will not here (as justly I might) retort his *Idle and impertinent Epithets*, nor yet his *impudent Slander*. But I will tell him, he seems very willing to mistake, that he might excuse himself from a direct Answer. He charges me with saying, *They are made Priests ac-*

according to Moses's Law. I no where say so, no where intend so: for indeed, I do not think their Ordination so fairly grounded; since all acknowledge the Law of *Moses*, though now abrogated, to *have had* a Divine Institution. I said, These men are made Priests after the Law of a Carnal Commandment. Doth that necessarily imply *Moses's Law*? May no Law, no Commandment be called carnal, but that which did bind to Sacrificings, Washings, and other *Levitical Ceremonies*? That's strange indeed! Nay, may not every Law, every Commandment, which is not spiritual, be properly enough called Carnal, as Carnal is understood in opposition to Spiritual? What though I used the Apostle's Phrase? must that Allusion tye my sense to the subject he was upon? No such matter. He opposes the *Levitical Priesthood* to *Melchizedec*, affirming that *they* were made Priests after the Law of a Carnal Commandment, but *he* after the Power of an Endless Life. I oppose the present Priests to *Melchizedec*, shewing that these are not of his Order (though for Tythes sake they pretend it) in as much as *he* was made a Priest not after the Law of a Carnal Commandment, but after the Power of an Endless Life; whereas *these* men are made Priests after the Law of a Carnal Commandment: but it does not follow that this must needs be the same Law by which the *Levitical Priests* were made, unless he thinks there can be no others. By what Law then are the *Papish Priests* made (out of which this Priesthood sprang?) By what Law are the *Turkish Priests* made? I hope he will not say either of these are made Priests by the Power of an Endless Life (as was *Melchizedec*) nor yet by the Law of *Moses*; & yet by some Law or other no doubt they were made: What will he call that Law, Spiritual or Carnal? Let him

him call it as he pleases: I insist not so much on the Names, as on the Natures of things, nor regard so much Words as Matter. Notwithstanding what he hath said the Difference yet remains, the Opposition is still as plain between *Melchizedec* and these Priests; *He* was made a Priest, not after the Law of a Carnal Commandment, but after the Power of an Endless Life: *These* are made Priests, not after the Power of an Endless Life, but after the Law of a Carnal Commandment; which plainly shews they are not of his Order, and so cannot derive any Right to Tythes from him, if Tythes could be proved to have ever been due to him.

He goes on, *ibid.* 'Tis evident we are not Priests according to that Carnal, Outward, Changeable, Levitical Law.

Neither did I say ye were: But are ye not Priests according to a carnal Law, an outward Law, a changeable Law, though not according to that very Levitical Law?

But (says he) we are Priests according to the Law of the Gospel, whose Eternal Duties have in them the Power of an Endless Life.

What a quaint Device is this to avoid the force of a Text! Was not the Scripture-Phrase plain & pertinent enough? or did it not suit his purpose? Were he indeed a Priest after *Melchizedec's* Order, he need not have used this variation. Had he been made a Priest by the same Power of an Endless Life, by which *Melchizedec* was, the same words would have very well served to have exprest the same thing. But he being conscious to himself that he came to his Priesthood by another way, boggles at the Text, and instead of the Power of

an Endless Life, puts in the *Law of the Gospel*; which the more to cover from the Reader's Observation, he mis-cites my words also, making me say, *Melchizedec* was made a Priest after the *Law of an Endless Life*; whereas my words (agreeing with the Text) are, He was made a Priest after the *Power of an Endless Life*, pag. 281. This *Power of an Endless Life* is a heavy Stone to all these carnal *man-made* Priests; and therefore they struggle to get from under the weight of it, and endeavour to put it from them, as we see in this Priest, who thrusts this Power from himself, and places it in the Duties. He durst not say the *Power of an Endless Life* had made him a Priest: but he says, he is a Priest according to the *Law of the Gospel* (in which he speaks falsely also) *whose Eternal Duties*, says he, *have in them the Power of an Endless Life*. If he has this Power no nearer him than *in the Duty*, by what Power then shall he Perform the Duty? How vast a Difference is there between these Priests & those whom these pretend to be Successors to! Paul was an *Apostle not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father*, Gal. 1. 1. He did not turn the Power off from himself to the Duties of the Gospel (as this Priest does) but he declar'd he receiv'd the Gospel it self, and his Apostleship or Ministry therein, *by the Revelation of the Son of God* (Christ, the Power of God, 1 Cor. 1. 24.) *in him*, Gal. 1. 12, 15, 16.

The Priest adds, *And as this Law must never change, so neither must our Priesthood, but, like that of Melchizedec, shall endure forever.*

The Law of the Gospel is indeed *unchangeable*, and so is *Melchizedec's Priesthood*; but the *changeableness* of these Priests and their Priesthood is an evident token that

that they are *not* Priests of his Order, nor made according to the *unchangeable* Law of the Gospel. How many *Turns and Changes* has here been amongst them within little more then the last Century ! One while a *Popish* Priesthood, another while a *Protestant*, then *Popish* again, anon a *Protestant* ; and in later times, among the *Protestants* by themselves, one while an *Episcopal* Priesthood, by and by a *Presbyterial*, anon an *Independent*, and now an *Episcopal* again. Is this the *unchangeable* Priesthood he talks of, that, like *Melchizedec's*, shall endure forever ! Methinks the remembrance of former times should convince him of his Weakness. If this man himself was not then a Changer, and trudg'd with his *Lamp* that way which he saw the *Oyl* was likely to run (which the concealing his Name gives cause to suspect) I would ask him, where he, and the Priests whose Cause he advocates, were *blessing and bringing forth their bread and their Wine* between twenty and thirty years ago, when a Common-Prayer Priest was rare to be seen.

He goes on thus, *And as we bear the same Office with him (Melchizedec) and do the like Work, we deserve the same Reward, and may expect Tythes as well as he,* pag. 42.

I do not find he ever expected any. However, since these Priests pretend to bear the same Office with *Melchizedec*, it will not be amiss to observe what they themselves make his Office to be. This Priest says, p. 39. *His Worship was altogether spiritual, praising God, praying for Abraham, only bringing forth Bread and Wine.* Sparrow Bishop of Exon, in his *Rationale* of the Common-Prayer, says much what the same, *Melchizedec had no other Offering, that we read of, but Bread and Wine,* p. 339.

Now

Now if this was the Office of *Melchizedec*, and these Priests pretend to bear the same Office with him, how comes it to pass that they have so much other Work to do, as *Marrying, Burying, Sprinkling, Churching of Women*, and much more, which it doth not appear *Melchizedec* did at all concern himself with? Surely, either their Office is larger then *Melchizedec's*, and so not the same with his; or else, they go beyond their Office, when they intermeddle with these matters.

But however, he says, *They do the like Work as Melchizedec did.* His Work was to bring forth Bread and Wine, which he did freely like a King, not putting Abraham to the Charge to pay for it. But these bring forth neither Bread nor Wine, but put the people to the Charge to buy them; and if any be left, though the people pay for it, yet the Priests will be sure to have it. And He not only presented Abraham with Bread and Wine, but he blessed him too, before Abraham gave him the Tythes: but these Priests are ten fold forwarder to curse then to bless, especially if it be in a Case of Tythes, as the numerous Excommunications witness. Nor are they content with Cursing only, but many a godly conscientious man's Life have they taken away by long and hard Imprisonments, and many an honest industrious Family have they Ruined by their frequent Rapines. Is this like *Melchizedec*? Surely no; it more resembles those blind Watch-men, whom the Prophet *Isaiah* inveighs against, Chap. 56. who all look't to their own way, every one for his Gain from his Quarter: And those False Prophets, against whom the true denounced the Judgment of God, that bite with their Teeth, and cry Peace: and he that putteth not into their monthes, they even prepare

pare War against him, *Mic. 3. 5.* in whose nature and practice these being so apparently found, may justly, expect the same reward that those blind Watch-men and false Prophets received.

I have now attended him through his first Period, the time before the Law, and I hope have satisfied the Reader, that nothing he hath produced from thence can warrant him any Right to Tythes. In the foregoing discourse upon this Period I have shew'd, that *There is no command ex ant for the payment of Tythes before the Levitical Law*; That *It is not at all absurd, but altogether reasonable and just, to demand and insist on a positive Precept for the payment of them*; That *It is a meer evasion to pretend there was or might be a command, though not recorded*; and to alledge the shortness of the Story as a reason why it was omitted, since so many other things, of far less moment than this, are so particularly and circumstantially delivered; That *It is an empty shift to say, A command in Scripture for the paying of Tythes in those times, is not to be expected because the Scriptures were not then written*; so many Commands being exemplified in Scripture of elder date than the instance of Abraham and Jacob giving and vowing Tythes. That *The priests Plea of a tenth part being Originally due to God, is but a precavious Plea, a begging of the Question*; and if considered as a peculiar part distinct from the other nine, is altogether false; if not so considered, conduces not at all to his purpose; That *To suppose a tenth part, as a tenth distinct from the rest, to be due to God Originally, is to clip the wing of his Sovereign prerogative, and turn him off with a part only, who is, and ought to be acknowledged, Lord of all*. That *If it were possible to be proved that Tythes were due to Melchizedec*

dec, yet that no right could descend from him to these Priests, they being no kin at all to him, in point of Priest-hood. In fine, That The whole fabrick which this Priest has raised in this Period, how much white-washt and varnished soever it may appear, is built upon a Sandy Foundation of meer Suppositions, Conjectures, Guesses, Probabilities, Likely-hoods, May-be's; not having in it one solid Stone of demonstrative Truth or firm Pillar of sound Reason to support it.

CHAP.

CHAP II.

Hitherto *no right* to Tythes appears. I now follow him to his second Period, comprehending the whole time of the *Mosaic Law*, under which the right of Tythes to the *Levitical Priesthood* is recognized by all. But in as much as these Priests *disclaim all Right and Title* by that Law, it cannot be expected this Period should produce any thing to the advantage of their claim, though something it may against it.

Here I must crave the Reader leave to make a short digression, to remove a Cavil urged by the Author of the Conference, the occasion whereof was thus; At his entrance upon the discourse of Tythes, in his Conference, pag. 131. he mentioned a Book of *Edward Burrough's*, called, *A just and righteous Plea*, &c. Out of which he collected a Quotation in these words, pag. 132. *Tythes are now not to be paid according to the first Covenant, neither is the first Priest-hood to be upheld that once gave and received Tythes; Now should we pay Tythes according to the first Covenant, and uphold any part of that Priest-hood, which took Tythes, &c. then should we deny Jesus Christ to be come in the Flesh.* Hereupon, he took occasion to quarrel about the Priest-hood, ignorantly taxing *E. B.* with ignorance in the Nature of the first Priest-hood, and alledging that *If by the first Priest-hood he meant that of Aaron, then he had presented to the King and Council notorious falsity,* affirm-

ing it to be the first Priest-hood, there being before him a Priest to whom Levi himself paid Tythes, Heb. 7. 9. &c. This, because I saw it to be a *meer Quibble*, a catch at words, not pertinent to the subject he was upon, but tending only to a Jangle, I took no notice of in my Answer, but stepped as directly as well I could into the matter it self of Tythes. Hereupon in his Vindication, pag. 234. he boastingly vaunts and insults over me *for passing by so considerable a passage*, as he it seems takes it to be. But I assure him I therefore passed it by, because I looked upon it as a *very inconsiderable* passage, and do still. Nor should I have thought it now deserved my notice, but that his unfair Inferences therefrom deserve reproof. He intimates that my silence hath given the World an occasion to look upon E. B. as a *meer Cheat and Impostor*, and says, *He had not that Inspiration, which himself and his Parishoner had been discoursing of.*

Poor weak man! He may soon at this rate, give the World an occasion to look upon himself as a Slanderer and Back-biter; but will never gain belief to his false suggestions with any, to whom E. B. was known, whose Name is honourable amongst the Righteous, and his Memory sweet as a pretious Oyntment. As to the Cavil it self, which the Priest hath raised, it is altogether groundless. For it is evident that E. B. did there call the *Levitical Priest-hood* the first Priest-hood with respect to that Priest-hood that succeeded it, which is the Gospel ministry. In which sense it is both generally understood & commonly called the first Priest-hood. And as well might the Priest blame the Apostle for calling that Covenant which was made with the Jews, the first Covenant (which he doth more than once in his Epistle to the Hebrews,

Hebrews, Chap. 8. 7. and 9. 1.) as find fault with E. B. for calling the *Jewish* Priest-hood the first Priest-hood. There needs not much be said in this case, to shew the emptiness of this Cavil, which of itself is obvious to every Eye. But he takes notice that E. B. was an occasion of my Convincement; and thence himself takes fresh occasion to raise his wonder, at my not answering this passage before. He may for that reason the rather believe, that I did not esteem it worthy of an Answer, since if I had, he may reasonably conclude I would not have been backward to vindicate one to whom I was so greatly obliged. It is very true indeed, that the Lord made E. B. instrumental to the turning me from the Darkness (wherein I once sat under the teaching of the National Ministry) unto the true Light of Christ Jesus; which with joy of Heart, and a thankful mind, I acknowledge, and my Soul blesses the Lord in the sense of his mercy extended to me therein. And of that faithful Servant of God (whom the Priest in derision calls my Patriarch) this certain Testimony I have to bear, That he was endued with Power from on high, and the Spirit of the Almighty rested on him; of which amongst many thousands I am a witness. But to proceed,

In the same place, Vindication, pag. 295. the Priest charges me with *cunningly passing over his Arguments, and skipping four pages at the entrance of his discourse of Tythes.*

This Acculation is utterly false, as will appear by comparing my Book with his. He began with Tythes in his Conference at the bottom of pag. 131. He spent pag. 132. in quibbling about the first Priest-hood. Then in pag. 133. having disowned all Titles

to Tythes by vertue of the Ceremonial Law, he started a Question, Whether Tythes are not purely Ceremonial, &c. which he answered in the Negative, and withal shewed how far he understood them to be Ceremonial: To all this I answered in my former Book, called *Truth prevailing*, bestowing two pages thereon, pag. 282, 283. Then in pag. 134. of his Conference he drew a comparison between the Prophets of the *Levitical* Priest-hood, and the present Clergy: To which I answered in pag. 348, 349, and 350. of my said Book. Judge now Reader whether was skipping over four pages, and passing by his Arguments. But of this let this suffice. I now return to the former Subject, from which the unfair dealing of my disingenuous Adversary hath occasioned this digression.

§. 1. That which is chiefly to be inquired in, our passage through his second Period, viz. the time under the Law, is, 1. Whether Tythes were a part of the Ceremonial Law, 2. Whether they were abrogated by Christ. The Priest begins with the last of these, and offers to prove, after his manner, that Tythes were not abrogated by Christ, *Let not the Quaker* (sayes he) *so far mistake, as to think that the abrogation of the Levitical Law concerning Tythes, was an abrogation of Tythes themselves,* pag. 42.

I Answer, so to think is no mistake, but a certain Truth. They were commanded by that Law, and never commanded by any other: While that Law stood in force, *they were uph'd by it*: but when that Law was disannulled, *they fell together with it.*

He sayes, *ibid.* Our Lord abrogated the Levitical Law

Law concerning the modes of Gods Worship, but he did not abrogate Gods Worship.

In abrogating the *Levitical Law*, he abrogated whatsoever had dependance on that Law, which Tythes had. The Worship of God, considered simply, had no dependance on that Temporary Law, but was grounded upon the Law of Nature, in the best acception thereof, and so was not subject to an abrogation: but the modes, manners, or wayes of Worship, being of the Nature of that *Levitical Polity*, and Instituted by the Law thereof; were abrogated by its Repeal. Now the parrallel holds *not* between the Worship of God and Tythes, but between the *worship* of God and the *maintenance* of his Priests or Ministers: for as the Worship of God is grounded on the Divine Law of *Nature*, so the Maintenance of his Ministers is founded upon a Principle of Natural justice and equity. And as God by the *Levitical Law*, instituted divers Modes, Manners, or wayes of this Worship, so by the same Law he appointed the Mode, Manner or Way of this Maintenance, which was by Tythes. Sacrifice, Burnt-offerings, Washings and other External Observances were the *modes* of that Worship, that is, they were the means or wayes by which that Worship was performed: and Tythes were the *modes* of that Maintenance; that is, they were the *means and wayes* by which that Maintenance was raised. As therefore the *Worship* it self was the *Substance*, which was grounded on the Law of Nature, and the Sacrifices, and other outward Services which were the *modes* of it, were *Ceremonial*, and as such abrogated by Christ: So the *Maintenance* it self was the *Substance*, which was founded on Natural justice and equity, and
Tythes

Tythes, which were the *modes* of it, were *Ceremonial*, and as such by Christ *abolished*. Yet so, that as the *Worship* it self remains though the *Sacrifices* which were the *modes* of it are *abolished*: So the *Maintenance* it self still abides, though the *Tythes*, which were the *modes* of it, are *abrogated*: Neither let any think, that *Tythes* are any whit less *Ceremonial*, because of that small mention of them in the *Stories* of *Jacob*, so long before the *Levitical Law* was given: for many things done by those, and other *Patriarchs* before them, were as certainly and plainly in their own *Natures* *Ceremonial* then, as they were afterwards, when *Commanded* by *Moses*. Certainly were this thing rightly understood and well considered, that *Tythe* is but a *mode*, a way, mean or manner of *Maintenance*, and consequently *Ceremonial*, it would greatly conduce to the clearing this *Case*, and determining this *Controversie*. And could men be perswaded to lay aside *Passion* and *Interest*, and come fairly and *unbiassed* to the consideration hereof, there might yet be hopes of a fairer *Issue* then the present face of things bespeaks. Doubtless the great *Ground* of these mens *Error*, who stickle so much for *Tythes*, is there not distinguishing between the *Maintenance* it self, and the *Way*, *Manner*, *Means*, or *Mode* by which that *Maintenance* is raised. My present *Adversary*, Author of the *Divine Right of Tythes*, acknowledges, p 43. That all the *modes* and *circumstances* of *Gods Worship*, enjoined by the *Levitical Law*, and proper to that dispensation, and relating to Christ to come fell with that *Polity*, and were *abrogated* by Christ: But the main duty of *Worshipping God* continued in force still, says he.

And so say I also. But then he falls into his former

ERROR

Error concerning Tythes with the *Worship* of God, to which they are by no means a suitable Parallel. *Even so* (sayes he) *in the Case of Tythes, they had not their Foundation upon, nor their Original from the Levitical Law: God had a Right to them before, &c.*

Thus he runs on in his old strain, repeating his former *groundless, supposition* for a whole page or more, and then concludes, pag. 45. thus, *Now when Christ did abrogate that Ministry and Dispensation* (namely, of the Law) *there Appendixes must needs be abrogated with it; but the main duty* (which was so before the Ceremonial Law) *remains still.*

The main duty does indeed remain still, which is a maintenance to Gods Ministers; but his mistake is in making Tythes to be this main duty, whereas Tythes being but the mode, means or way of performing the main duty of Maintenance were really Appendixes of that Jewish Polity, and though known (and sometimes but rarely used) before the Ceremonial Law was actually given forth, were yet even then, in their own Nature Ceremonial, as well as those other modes and wayes of Worshipping by Sacrifice, &c. which though in frequent use with the *Patrarchs* long before the Promulgation of the Ceremonial Law, or mention made of Tythes are yet acknowledged to be of the Nature of that Dispensation and Polity, and by Christ to be abrogated with it.

§. 2. But here I cannot omit to take notice, that in his repetition of his former *fancy* of a Divine Right to Tythes before the Law, he abuses the holy Text, First, in saying, *The Fathers of the Israelites had made a special Vow to pay this Divine Tribute,* meaning

ning Tythes, hereby insinuating that *Jacob* understood Tythes to be a *known due or Tribute* which he was before obliged to pay; when as both his *voluntary*, unrequired and *conditional* Vow plainly speaks the contrary, and the words of the Vow expressly are, I will surely give [he doth not say pay] the tenth unto thee. Secondly, in saying, *There was no need for God to institute Tythes anew, and that accordingly he claims them, & supposes them to be his due by a right antecedent to the Levitical Law*; for proof of which he cites (as before) *Exod. 22. 29.* where Tythes are so far from being claimed and supposed due, that they are not so much as mentioned at all. He adds *Levis. 27. 30.* which thus speaks, *And all the Tythe of the Land, whether of the Seed of the Land; or of the Fruit of the Tree, is the Lord: it is holy unto the Lord.* This does not at all prove an antecedent Right or Claim to Tythes distinct from the rest; for he had but a little before asserted his Right to the whole Land, when giving a reason why he would not have any one sell his Possession forever; he sayes; *For the Land is mine, for ye are Strangers and sojourners with me, c. 25. 23.* So there he claims, the whole Land as his own; and here he first appropriates the Tythes to his own use.

§. 3. But the Priest hopes to Demonstrate that Tythes were not abrogated by this comparison, *The putting on* (sayes he) *a new State, doth not make one a new man, nor doth the pulling it off again Kill him.*

This is very true, but falsely applyed: for he makes Tythes to be the *man*; but what then shall be the *Snit*? If he would apply his comparison rightly, he should

should make *Maintenance* to be as the *man*; and *Tythes* to be as the *Suit*; and then he might infer aptly enough, that as the pulling off the *Suit* doth not kill the *man*, so the putting off *Tythes* doth not destroy the *maintenance*. And plainly, *Tythes*, though (to pursue his comparison) it was once made and worn as a *Suit*, yet when it was grown old, and had done its *Service*, it was cast off, and laid aside, never to be worn again.

He adds, *There may be many alterations in Circumstances, the Essentials still remaining the same.* I pray consider now, *Is not Tythe a Circumstance of Maintenance?* Can any one imagine *Tythe* to be an *Essential*? *Essential* is that which belongs to the being of a thing, without which that thing cannot be. But that *maintenance may be without Tythes*, and consequently *Tythes not Essential to maintenance*, not only the lowest Degree of Reason will teach, but experience also of former and the present Age confirm: The Apostles of our Lord had Maintenance sufficient; yet no man (*with a name*) dares say, they had it by *Tythes*. And in other Countries at this day among *Protestants*, the Clergy receive their Maintenance by a Standing Salary from the State without any mention of *Tythes*.

S. 4. From the Levitical Law, he says, they may leave something to clear that Title which thy have to *Tythes* from other Laws; and one of his Lessons is, That the Levitical Law was a Pattern for Christ to imitate, in his provision for Gospel Ministers; as St. Paul teacheth us, where he says, Know ye not, that they which Minister about holy things [i. e. the Levites] live of the things of the Temple, [i. e. *Tythes*] and they which wait

wait at the Altar, [i. e. the Jewish Priests] are partakers with the Altar, [i. e. the Sacrifices and Oblations] Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14. which Words [Even so] do manifest (saith he) that Christ both in the main, and for the Essential part, made like Provision for Gospel Ministers, as God the Father did for the Jewish Priesthood, page 46.

In thinking Christ took the *Levitical Law* as a pattern for himself to imitate, in his Provision for Gospel Ministers; this man very much mistakes. The very contrary appears most plain in Sacred Story. *Freely ye have received, freely give*, was our Lords Command to his Disciples when he sent them forth to preach, *Mat. 10. 8.* and freely receive what is freely given by those that receive you and your Message, was the Provision he allowed them, *Luke 10. 7, 8.* And a sufficient Provision too it proved, even though they went *as Lambs amongst Wolves*, *Verf. 3.* for when they returned he asked them, *Lacked ye any thing?* and their Answer was, *Nothing*, *Luk. 22. 35.* Had Christ intended to follow the *Levitical Law*, and by that Pattern to bestow Tythes on his Gospel Ministers; it cannot be doubted but he would, by a plain and positive Precept, have fixt and settled that Maintenance on his, as his Father before had done on the *Levitical Priesthood*; and not have left it to the uncertain construction of an *Even so*: If the place it self [*Οὕτως*] should be allowed to be *Even so* rendered, which *Barinrus* by [*Ita*] only; *Hierom*, *Montanus* and others by [*Ita et*] and *Tompson* that English *Baza's* Latine, reads it (not [*Even so*] from which Word Even the Priest would hook in an Identity of Maintenance, but) *so also*. But suppose it allowable to read it

it *Even so* as the Vulgar Translation hath it, yet will the particle [*Even*] in that place appear to every judicious and disinterested Reader to have relation to the *matter*, not the *manner*, livelihood it self, not the way or means of livelihood; imploying, that Christ was not less careful of his Ministers under the Gospel, then God had been of his Priests under the Law, which I hope it will be granted he might very well be, though he did not appoint them the self-same Maintenance. And indeed, when this Priest sayes, pag. 47. *These words [Even so] do manifest, that Christ hath in the main, and for the essential part, made like Provision for Gospel Ministers, as God the Father did for the Jewish Priesthood;* he is not much beside the Mark, if he rightly understand the *main* and *essential* part, which is simply a *maintenance*, without respect to the *mode* or way, by which it should be raised.

Again, he sayes, *This was also a Pattern for the devout Christians of Old, and did intimate to them, that they should not do less for their Ministers then would afford them an honourable Maintenance.* It is not to be doubted the *Levitical Law*, in the Ages succeeding that of the Apostles, was but too much imitated by the *Christians*. He that reads the Writings of those Times, and observes the *bulk* of *Jewish Ceremonies*, that have gradually crept into the publick Worship of *Professed Christians*, will find no cause to question it. And though the *Christians* in those times were very commendable for providing honourably for Christs Ministers; yet in recurring to the *Levitical Law*, then abrogated, and fetching Examples from thence, they did not deserve commendation. Nor is there any need for *Christians* now to look back to the antiquated Ceremonies

Ceremonies of the Law for Example or Incitement to their duty herein, since such is the Power and Efficacy of the Gospel, that it opens the hearts of those who receive it, to Communicate freely of their carnals, to those from whom they receive Spirituals. Thus was it with Lydia, the Thyatirefs, when her heart was opened: She was not backward to entertain them who were Instrumental to her Conversion, but even constrained them to come to her House and abide there, Act. 16. 14, 15.

These men peradventure may think such a Maintenance not *honourable enough*. But they should remember, that it was *honourable enough* for the holy Apostles, and for our Saviour himself also, who though he were Lord of all, yet did not disdain to be thus provided for, but by his own Example laid the Foundation of this Gospel Maintenance, as we read in *Luk. 8. 2, 3.* where *Mary Magdalen, Joanna the Wife of Chuza, Herod's Steward, and Susanna*, and many others are remembred to have ministred to him of their Substance. Was this accepted by the Master, and will it not content them who call themselves his Servants? They had need then be put in mind, that *the Disciple is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord.* And that, *It is enough for the Disciple that he is as his Master, and the Servant as his Lord, Matth. 8. 24, 25.* And were these men indeed what they pretend to be, they would not think *slightly* of that Maintenance, which our blessed Saviour was contented with. But verily, their *despising* and rejecting this, and *creeping* to the Magistrate for another, is Argument enough that for all their pretences, they are not the Servants of humble Jesus.

S. 5. To shew that the *Levitical Law* for Tythes was a pattern for the *Christians* of old, he gives us a quotation out of *Origen*, thus, *Our Lord saith in the Gospel (speaking of tything Mint, &c.) These things ought ye to have done. If you reply, He said this to the Pharisees, not to his Disciples; then hear what he saith to his Disciples, Except your Righteousness exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, Matth. 5. Therefore that which he would have done by the Pharisees, more abundantly would he have it done by his Disciples.* — Now how doth my *Righteousness* exceed that of the *Pharisees*, if they durst not taste of the *Fruits of the Earth*, before they had separated the *Priests and Levites* parts; and I devour the *Fruits of the Earth*, so that the *Priest* knows not of it, the *Levite* is a stranger to it, and *God's Altar* receives nothing. Herein (sayes the *Priest*) *Origen* speaks my sense fully, pag. 47.

By this then we know fully what the *Priests* sense is in this case; let us see now how much, or rather how little, this sense of his agrees with Truth. When *Christ* said to the *Pharisees* (concerning tything Mint, &c.) *These things ye ought to have done, &c. the Law*, by which Tythes were commanded to be paid, was in force, and therefore the *Pharisees* in observing the Law, did but what they ought to do. But though they were in that part so observant of the Law, yet in other parts, more material, they were wholly negligent. Now as that caution of our Saviour to his Disciples, *Except your Righteousness exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, &c.* was not given with particular relation to the *Pharisees*
punctuality

punctuality in tything Mint, &c. being spoken long before, and upon another occasion; so neither can it with any colour of reason be supposed, that the excess or superabounding of the Disciples Righteousness above and beyond the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, was to consist in a more exact observance of the Ceremonies of the Law, which were then even expiring, and the Disciples daily fitting for the manifestation of *a more glorious* and lasting Administration. But the Scribes and Pharisees, who were so exact in those *smaller and lighter* matters of tything Mint, &c. did break *great and weighty* Commands of God, and taught men so, as appears in *Math. 15. 6.* where Christ tells them, *You have made the command of God (for honouring of Parents) of no effect by your Tradition;* and in *Mark 7. 13.* (where the same passage is recorded) He adds, *And many such like things do ye,* of which there is a large Bed-roll in the 23^d of *Matthew*. For these *Pharisaical* Tythers did *shut the Kingdom of Heaven against men,* neither entring themselves, nor suffering others, *They devoured Widows Houses,* were full of extortion, and while they were so exact in tything the very *Pot-berbs,* they omitted the *weightier matters* of the Law, *Judgment, Mercy and Faith.* Now while the Righteousness of the *Pharisees* stood in a *nice* and exact performance of those *lesser* matters: the Disciples Righteousness was to shine forth in the performance of those *weightier* matters, Judgment, Mercy, Faith, &c. wherein as they were exercised, their Righteousness would as really exceed the Righteousness of the *Pharisees*, as the things themselves in which they were conversant (*viz.* Judgment, Mercy, Faith, &c.) did excel those things which the *Pharisees* were busied

busied about, (to wit, tything of Mint and Annise)
 And how great a preheminance and preference the
 one sort has of the other, may sufficiently appear in
 the Vers. 23. where Judgment, Mercy and Faith
 are comparatively to Tythes, called the *weightier*
matters. But the *disproportion* is more clearly set
 forth in the next Vers. where Tythes are compared to
 the *Gnat* (one of the *least* of Insects) but *Judgment*,
Mercy and *Faith* to the *Camel* (one of the *greatest*
 of Animals) which Metaphors, drawn from the two
 Extreame, do evidently enough denote the *different*
Natures of the things there handled; one sort of
 which (*viz.* Judgment; Mercy, &c.) is plainly
Moral, the other (*viz.* tything of Mint, &c.) as
 clearly *Ceremonial*. Now to suppose Christ intended
 his Disciples should exceed the Righteousness of the
Pharisees in the *ceremonial* and *lesser* parts of the Law,
 in which the *Pharisees* were themselves but *too apt* to
 exceed; and that he should enjoyn this too on no less
 penalty then Exclusion from the Kingdom of Heaven
 is contrary both to Reason and true spiritual Sense:
 What therefore the Priest quotes from *Origen*, and
 sayes is *fully his own sense* too, may not by any means
 be received, at least as he understands it. For he
 sayes, *That which Christ would have done by the Pha-*
risees, more abundantly would he have it done by his
Disciples. But who can admit this in such *general*
 terms as it is here laid down. Christ would have
 the *Pharisees* have kept the *whole Law*, even *every*
Ceremony and *Circumstance* therein commanded
 (which, being then in *force*, they *ought* to have done)
 but would he have his Disciples do this more abun-
 dantly, now that himself hath *Nail'd them to his*
Cross! that were to deny him come in the *Flesh*. What

Origen himself therefore saith, *That it is the part of a wise Interpreter to find out what things in the Law are to be Literally observed, and what not*; the same may well be said of his Writings, There is need of great caution and sound judgment in quoting what he has written. For though he was a Man of great Learning, yet was he too apt to run the wrong way, for which he has been not lightly censured by many. And indeed, his aptness to allegorize the Scriptures, makes it seem the more strange that he should take this place literally; and yet he hath even here exprest himself so darkly too, that it would puzzle I think a wise Citator to find out who that *Levite* is, to whom under the Gospel, Tythes should be paid according to the Letter of the Law.

But leaving the Priest to untie that Knot, I here present thee Reader with the judgment of *Walter Brute* upon this Text, whom though I know beforehand the Priest despises and disdains (reproachfully calling him *Renegado, Right of Tythes*, pag. 139.) because he strikes at their *Diana Tythes*; yet I make no doubt but amongst honest men, he will at least be never the worse, if not the better thought of. He having shewed that Tythes were Ceremonial, and the Law abrogated by which they were due to the *Levites*, goes on to disprove the pretences of those who claim a Right from those words of Christ to the *Pharisees*. His words are these, 'Whereupon some do say, that by the Gospel we are bound to pay Tythes, because Christ said to the *Pharisees*, *Mat.* 23. Wo be to you *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, which pay your Tythes of Mint, Annise Seed, and of Cumin, and leave Judgment, Mercy and Truth undone. O ye blind Guides that strain at a Gnat
'and

and swallow up a Camel. This word soundeth not as a Commandment or manner of bidding, whereby Christ did command Tythes to be given; but it is a word of disallowing the Hypocrisie of the *Pharisees*, who of Covetousness did rather weigh and esteeme Tythes, because of their own singular Commodities, rather then other great and weighty Commandments of the Law. And me seemeth that our men are in the same predicament of the *Pharisees*, which do leave off all the old Law, keeping only the Commandment of Tything. It is manifest and plain enough by the premises, and by other places of Scriptures, that Christ was a Priest after the order of *Melchizedec*, of the Tribe of *Juda*, not of the Tribe of *Levi*; who gave no new Commandment of tything any thing to him and to his Priests, whom he would place after him, but when his Apostles said to him, Behold, we have left all things, and have followed thee, what then shall we have? He did not answer them thus, Tythes shall be paid you, neither did he promise them a temporal, but an everlasting reward in Heaven: For he, both for Food, and also for Apparel, taught his Disciples not to be careful. — And *Paul*, right-well remembring this Doctrine, instructeth *Timothy*, and saith thus, But we having Food, and wherewithal to be covered, let us therewith be content, 1 *Tim.* 6. Thus say *Brute*, whom *Fox* enrolls amongst the holy Confessors of Jesus, *Martyrol.* vol. 1. pag. 146. *Erasmus* also, in his Paraphrase on *Luke* 11. Upon the words [*ye Tythe Mint, &c.*] sayes thus, These things which God commanded for a time to be kept according to the Flesh, ye ought not to omit; but those things which God would have chiefly to be

'done, which are perpetually good, and acceptable
 'to him, ought first of all to be performed. Observe
 here how he accounts of Tythes; not as things *perpetually*
good and acceptable to God, but as things com-
manded for a time, to be kept according to the Flesh:
 To which the *Jews* (*Israel after the Flesh*) were
 bound; but the *Christians* (*Israel after the Spirit*)
 are free from that bond. With these take the judg-
 ment of *Andrew Willet* in his *Synopsis of Popery*, and
 i in the fifth general Controversie, pag. 3. 4. Where
 setting down the Jesuits Argument for the Morality
 of Tythes, out of *Matth. 23. 23.* He thus An-
 swers it, 'We must consider in what time our Savi-
 'our Christ so spake unto the *Pharisees*, for as yet
 'neither the Law, nor the Ceremonies thereof were
 'fully abrogated: Christ was Circumcised, and
 'Mary his Mother purified according to the Law,
 'Luke 2. 21, 22. Our Saviour also biddeth the Leper
 'to shew himself to the Priest, and offer a gift as
 'Moses commanded, *Matth. 8. 4.* Yet none of all
 'these Ceremonies now stand in force, though Christ
 'did them at that time, and bad them to be done.
 'The same Answer may serve also concerning his
 'Injunction to the *Pharisees* as touching their Tythes.
 Thus he, by which it is past doubt that, although he
 was a zealous Advocate for Tythes as a Maintenance,
 yet he accounted them not Moral, but Ceremonial.

§. 6. The Priest hath yet another document from
 the *Levitical Law*, namely, That the substance of that
 which was required then, is due still not by virtue of
 that law, but because there is an inherent equity in the
 thing, pag. 48.

The Substance is a Maintenance in which there is
 an

an inherent equity, that the Labourers should be rewarded, but that this Maintenance should be by Tythes, was not the Substance in which the inherent equity stood, but a Circumstance, Ceremony or Mode, due only by vertue of that Law while it stood, and no longer. For though it be equal that the Labourer should be rewarded for his labour, yet the equality of the reward stands not in Tythes, or a tenth part, which may either exceed or fall short of the Labourers just desert, and so not prove an adæquate reward to his work. That the substance of that which was required in the Law, is due still, he sayes, pag. 48. Is Origen's meaning in the aforesaid place; and so (he sayes) we must interpret St. Hierom, when he saith, That which we have said of Tythes and first Fruits which were once given by the People to the Priests and Levites, you must understand also of the Christian People, to whom it is commanded not only to give Tythes but to sell all.

But where is there a command to Christians, either to give Tythes, or to sell all? Hierom prest it from Mal. 3. which had direct reference to the Jews, and cannot possibly be made a Command to Christians. And for Christians selling all, there is mention indeed in holy Writ of some that did so, but not that they were commanded so to do; that was voluntary.

But the Priest explains Hierom's meaning, that is (sayes he pag. 49) so much of the command as was Moral, so much as was grounded upon eternal Reason, ought to stand.

That is not specifically Tythes, but a Maintenance in general. It is the Maintenance that is Moral, and grounded upon eternal Reason; but no man thinks

thinks should have so little a reason, as to think Tythes, as Tythes, as a certain and definite part, are grounded upon eternal Reason. It was not an eternal, but *temporal* Reason, (suitable to the Jewish Polity) on which Tythes were grounded under the Law, and that was the reason they did not remain, but fell together with that Law.

He Argues further, *That God is Eternally Lord of the World, and must alwayes be Worshipped, and alwayes have Ministers, and these must alwayes be Maintained out of their Masters Portion*, page 49.

So they may, and yet not by Tythes, if God be Lord of the World: for then *all* being his, neither he nor his Ministers need to be *tyed to a Tenth*. Why not a *Ninth*, an *Eighth*, a *Sixth*, or any other part if he pleases? Has the Eternal reason of Tythes tyed God who is Lord of all the World, to the Tenth part *only*. Plainly these men, while they pretend to honour God as the Eternal Lord of the World, would make him in reality Lord but of a Tenth Part of it. That they make his Portion, which he must take or none. And if they might be believed, all should depend upon this Tenth; without Tythes no Maintenance, without Maintenance no Ministers, without Ministers no Worship. This I'm sure is not Gospel Language. But this is like his former comparison of the *Oyle* and the *Lamp*.

But whatever this Priest talks of the Law of Nature and Eternal Reason (to beget a reverence in Peoples mind to Tythes, and make them *bow their Neck* the more willingly to his hard and *heavy Yoke*) we may see that Tythes were not reputed of Divine Right by the Eternal moral Law, if we consider the
 Alienations

Alienations that have been made of them to common uses in *Hen. 8.* time. And though the Priest may think to wipe off the Objection by *exclaiming* against *Hen. 8.* and his Parliament, and by *branding* them with the Horrible Name of Sacrilege, as *he does* in his Vindication. pag. 305. Yet when he shall come to consider that those Alienations have been confirmed by *Edw. 6.* and *Q. Eliz.* and allowed by all Succeeding Kings and Parliaments ever since; and that the Statutes made for those Alienations, stand yet in force; I take him to be too great a *Time-server* to pursue his Argument of Sacrilege, at least with his Name to it. However, if he will charge Sacrilege on all the Princes & Parliaments from *Hen. 8.* to this day, that will not remove the Objection, but still it will appear that, whatever he thinks of them, they have not thought Tythes to be due by the Eternal moral Law. And indeed, if we look upon the practice of the Priests themselves, we shall have reason to think that they themselves do not really believe that Tythes are due by the Eternal moral Law (whatever they pretend to keep simple People in awe) for do not they Alienate Tythes themselves? Do not they pay Tents (which are the Tythes of the Tythes) to the Crown? See Right of Tythes, p. 231. If Tythes, as they pretend, may not be alienated to Common uses; and if such alienation be Sacrilege, Why then do they themselves alienate them? Doth not this plainly shew, that either they do not believe Tythes to be due by the Eternal moral Law, or else that they herein sin against their own Consciences and Knowledge?

§. 7. But that which comes next is such a piece of
Logic,

Logick, as would make a serious man smile. *When the Levitical Priesthood failed* (sayes he, pag. 49) *there must be another, and a better; and therefore we may claim Tythes as Gods due, and as his Ministers Portion, &c.*

What a pretty pair of Non-sequiters is here. Because there must be another and a better Priesthood, when the *Levitical* failed, doth it therefore follow, these must needs be they! upon which of the premises I wonder doth this conclusion lean? that there must be another Priesthood, or that it must be a better? If it rest on the former, that there must be another Priesthood, that no doubt there may be, and yet not be these: if on the *latter*, that it must be better, then past all doubt it cannot be these, since these are so far from being better, that they are not a little worse. But if upon the failure of the *Levitical* Priest-hood, there must be another, a better, and it were possibly to suppose these to be that, doth it thence follow that these may claim Tythes? What empty arguing is this! Right Reason would rather have inferred, that if indeed the *old Priest-hood* had stood, the *old Maintenance* by Tythes might also have continued; but the *old Priest-hood* being ended the *old Maintenance* by Tythes is ended also. And as there was to be *another* Priest-hood (*wholly* another, not the same corrected or reformed) so there should also be *another* Maintenance (*wholly* another, not the same a little variated) which should excel the *old Maintenance*, as this other Priest-hood was to be a better Priest-hood then the former, and that in the same Notion of meliority. This I am sure would be not only more rational, but more agreeable also to the words of the Apostle, 2 Cor. 5. 17.

Old

Old things are passed away, behold all things are become New. So also the Divine John, Rev. 21. 5. *Behold I make all things new.* Which words are there delivered with a very Remarkable Emphasis, *He that sat upon the Throne said, Behold, I make all things new.* And he said unto me, *Write: for these words are true and Faithful.* How Unfaithful then are these Priests, who endeavour to make their true words untrue, by claiming and contending for the old legal Maintenance by Tythes, which long since is *de jure* passed away.

But he hath yet another fetch, They need not, he says, claim them by the *Levitical Law* as it is Ceremonial. What then; will they claim them by the *Levitical Law*, but under some other Notion? How doth he twist and twine about to get a claim by the *Levitical Law*, to which alas! his dear Brother has foreclosed his way, by saying plainly & in general terms, they derive them not from *Levi*, Conference, p. 135.

§. 8. And now (says the Priest to his Brother) I hope T. E. must confess, that your second Position, viz. [*That Tythes are not purely Ceremonial*] is made good also; since I have shewed they were grounded on the Law of Nature, and Primitive Revelation, relying on an Internal Rectitude in the thing it self, and an Eternal Reason of it, and were paid by those Patriarchs who lived long before the Ceremonial Law, by *Versus* of the preceding Declaration of the Divine Right unto them, pag. 49.

If his Faith hath no better Foundation then his hope, the man is in an ill case; for I assure him, I am so far from being brought to confess he hath made

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good

good the second Position also, that I declare, I am fully satisfied he hath made good neither first nor second yet. And though he enumerates many and great matters which he pretends he has shewed, yet, unless he means, that *saying* is shewing, he hath not shewed any one particular of those many which he speaks of. He sayes, he has shewed that *Tythes were grounded on the Law of Nature and Primitive Revelation*: but he has no otherwise shewed it then by saying so. In pag. 21. he begins with it, and sayes, *Gods right to Tythes is founded primarily upon the Law of Nature, &c.* and four or five Lines lower he adds, *Natural Reason teacheth us to give God some part of his gifts back again, &c.* Then in the same page he concludes, *Some part of our Substances being therefore due to God, &c.* So that at first he *begs the Question*, and on that *precarious* bottom sets his Building. He takes for granted that which is denied, and then cries out he has shewed: and so indeed he has the *weakness* of his Cause or his own *inability* to manage it. If to find Gods Right he would look into the Law of Nature, he shall there find that God has a right to *all*, and to *all alike*. He is the God of Nature, the Universal Power, by which all things were made, and by which all things subsist. An equal Right he has, by the Law of Nature, to all that his hands have made, or ever was brought forth by his productive FIAT. But nothing can constitute to him a *distinct* and *particular* Right to a *tenth*, or any other part, so as to make that part (*per excellentiam*) more *peculiarly* and *eminently* his then the rest, but his own *appropriation* and *assumption* thereof to himself, which cannot be proved of Tythes before the *Levitical Law*. That a tenth part (or Tythes, which is the same) is not due

due by the Law of Nature, *Melancton* affirms, saying, The *Quota* (the tenth part) is not Natural, but the *Aliquota* (some part) that stands in equity, founded on the Law of Nature: but the *Quota* (or tenth part) is founded on the Ceremonial and judicial Law, which Law, says he, are proper to *Moses's* Polity, and belong not to us, seeing God hath utterly Destroyed it, 1 *Tom.* page 303. *Delibert. Christiana.*

And for Tythes being founded on Primitive Revelation, he shews it much after the same manner as he doth that they are grounded on the Law of Nature: for he sayes, *we ought* to believe it, pag. 25. *We may* believe it, p. 26. *We must* believe it, p. 27, &c. But I would know of him whence he has his *Revelation* that Tythes were founded on Primitive Revelation? He is too great a *scoffer* at Inspiration to pretend to know it that way. Doth he read it any where in the holy Scriptures? He should then have done well to have given us the Text. But if it be not recorded there, *Why makes he himself so over-wise?* Eccles. 7. 16. And yet, if he could prove, or I should grant, that Tythes had been Commanded to be paid before *Moses's* time, yet would not that prove Tythes any whit less Ceremonial, since many things that were revealed to and required of the *Patriarchs* before the *Mosaic* Law, were clearly Ceremonial, and afterward both required by the Ceremonial Law, and Universally acknowledged to be abrogated with it, as Bloody Sacrifices, Circumcision, &c. Yea, the distinction between Clean and Unclean Beasts, was observed before the Flood, as appears, *Gen.* 7. 2. which yet I think the Priest will not deny to be Ceremonial and ended.

He has indeed a notable knack of *supposing* what he

knows would be difficult to prove. For in his p. 22. he sayes, *Though God have a right to the tenth part of our Substance yet, &c.* And pag. 24. *We know from the Light of Nature, that part of our Substance is due to God:* and this he repeats frequently. But what Nature is it he talks so much of, by the Light and Reason whereof he has learnt to make Man's part *nine times as big as GODS*, and yet sayes, God is Eternally Lord of the World? Surely it is a Corrupt and selfish Nature, whose counterfeited Light gives him so false a sight of things.

He hath shewed, he sayes, *That Tythes rely on an Internal Rectitude in the thing it self, and an Eternal Reason of it.*

How can that be? He plunges himself into these absurdities by not distinguishing between Maintenance in general, and Tythes which are but a particular mode or way of raising Maintenance, by Confounding which, he thus confounds his own sense. If he were pleading for a Maintenance in general, his argument there were good and pertinent: for there is no doubt, an Internal Rectitude in the thing it self, that he that Labours should be rewarded for his Labour, and an Eternal Reason of it from the equity of the thing. But to suppose an Eternal Reason that the tenth part only and no other must be this reward, is utterly repugnant to all Reason and equity, since possibly the *fifth* part may be too small, or the *fifteenth* too great a compensation for the work. In the time of the Law by which Tythes were commanded, though there was an Internal Rectitude for a Maintenance, and an Eternal Reason of it; yet the providing and raising that Maintenance by the way of Tythes, did not rely on an *Internal Rectitude*,
but

but on an **EXTERNAL**: nor was there then an *Eternal* Reason for raising the Maintenance by that particular way of Tythes, but a *temporal*, suitable to the Polity of that State. The Ox that trod out the Corn was not to be muzzled, but for the Labour and Service he did he was to be fed; and this depended on an *Internal* Rectitude in the thing it self: but he that should thence infer, that the *certain quantity* of Meal which should be given to the Ox, or the *Specifick* kinds of Food he should eat, did rely also on an *Internal* Rectitude in the things themselves, would hereby sufficiently convince the World, that he himself had but too much need to have his own Understanding *rectified*. From what has been said, the Reader I presume may collect, that my Opponent hath much mistaken the matter, in making Tythes, (which is not the Substance, the Maintenance it self, but a Circumstance of the quantity of Maintenance) to rely on an *Internal* Rectitude in the thing it self, and an *Eternal* Reason of it.

He adds, that he has shewed Tythes were paid by those Patriarchs who lived long before the Ceremonial Law, by *Virtue* of the Preceding Declarations of the Divine Right unto them. Indeed the man is much to be blamed. He seems to have abandoned all Regard to Truth and Modesty, and to be resolved to say *anything* that may suit his purpose. Where hath he shewed that the *Patriarchs* before the Ceremonial Law did pay Tythes? Or how indeed is it possible he should shew this? when as before that Law, Tythes are but *twice* mentioned at all in holy Writ, and in each place expressly said to be *given*, without any word of *payment*. But that he should not only say they *paid* what the holy Text says plainly they *gave*, but also
 affirm

affirm they paid it, by *Virtue of the Preceding Declarations of the Divine Right unto them*, whenas no such Preceding Declarations, or any Declaration at all of the Divine Right, appears in the Divine Record, but the *H. G.* hath been altogether silent therein, and not thought fit to leave any monument or Footstep of a Divine Right to Tythes in those Times, is an arrogant and presumptuous piece of Confidence.

He confesses, pag. 50. That *all things done by the Patriarchs were not eternal Duties*, instancing in *Circumcision*, which, he says, *was not grounded on the Law of nature, nor imposed for any eternal Reason or internal Restitude in the things*. But if Tythes, as Tythe, that is, as it is a certain and determinate quantity, not the *aliquota*, but the *quota*, not the Maintenance simply, but a proportion of Maintenance, is not grounded on the Law of Nature (as *Melancton* is before remembred to observe) nor was injoynd for any eternal (but temporary) Reason, or internal (but external) Restitude in the thing (which whether it was or no, let the judicious Reader, from what hath been said judge) then surely there is no more ground for Tythes to stand and remain upon now, then for Circumcision. And that Tythes and Circumcision were a like Ceremonial *Epiphanius* intimates, when *lib. 1. ord. 8.* he gives Tenth for one of his Instances of *Shadows* contained in the Law, making them equal with Circumcision. And *Oscolampadius* on *Ezek. 44.* ranks Sacrifices, first Fruits and Tythes altogether, and calls them expressly Ceremonial. He instances also in *bloody Sacrifices*, which, he says, *ibid. were purely Ceremonial, and cease when that Law ceaseth*. And yet these very bloody Sacri-
fices,

fees, which he acknowledges *ceremonial* and *ceast*, were a great, if not the greatest part of the Maintenance of the Priests under the Law: For the Priests themselves had not the Tythes, but the Title of the Tythes, that is the *hundred parts*, which the Levites paid them out of the Tythes which they received. From which instance it is evident, that although Maintenance itself be Moral, and grounded on the Law of Nature, yet the *mode* or manner of that Maintenance may be *Ceremonial*, yea, purely *Ceremonial*, as he acknowledges those bloody Sacrifices to have been which are *ceast*.

He sayes, *ibid.* he might add, that The Prophets (*who are not wont to reprove the People for omission of things purely Ceremonial*) declaim against the Jews for detaining their Tythes, for which he cites *Mal. 3. 10.* But he might see (if he pleas'd) in the eighth Verse where the Reproof is, that the Prophet joyning Tythes and Offerings together, reproveth the Jews alike for the omission of each, whence I may better argue, that Tythes are of the *same nature* with those Jewish Offerings, which I think the Priest will not deny were *ceremonial* and *ceast*. And does not the same Prophet, Chap. 1. ver. 7, 8. reprove the Jewish Priests for offering *polluted* (i.e. common) Bread, and for offering the *Blind*, the *Lame* and the *Sick* for Sacrifices? What else were these things but *Ceremonial*, purely *Ceremonial*? And yet this Priest, that he might still keep Tythes on foot, sayes, The Prophets were not wont to reprove the People for omission of things purely *Ceremonial*.

He adds, *ibid.* that *Nehemiah* calls his care in this (*viz.* Tythes) a good deed, desiring God to remember him for it, *Nehem. 13. 14.* It was no doubt a good deed

deed in *Nehemiah* to take care that Tythes should be duly paid according to the Law which required them, which in his time was in full force. But what is this to the purpose : Doth this argue that Tythes were not Ceremonial, or that it is a good Deed to pay them now, when the Law that required them hath been so long abolished? Was nothing Ceremonial that *Nehemiah* took care of? No man with a name I think will affirm it.

But Tythes, he sayes, pag. 51. *in all the new Testament are not reckoned up among things purely Ceremonial, or declared to be repealed, as Circumcision, Sacrifices, Washing, Jewish difference of Meats, and Jewish Feasts, &c. are. These (he sayes) are repealed by name, but so are not Tythes, as being a thing that never were purely Ceremonial, pag. 51.*

There was no need that Tythes should be repealed by Name. It was sufficient that the Law by which alone they were due, was repealed; which that it was, the Author to the Hebrews plainly shews, Chap. 7. For having said, Ver. 5. *That they that are of the Sons of Levi, who receive the Office of the Priesthood, have a Commandment to take Tythes of the People according to the Law; and having next shewed that that Priesthood, which had a Law to take Tythes by, was at an end, he thence concludes plainly and positively, vers. 12. that The Priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the Law.* Here now is a plain repeal of that Law by which Tythes were given, as well as of that Priesthood to which they were given. And Tythes standing by this Law, and the reason of them depending on the Jewish Polity; the repeal of this Law took away

away the right of Tythes, as the removing that Polity did the Reason of them.

That Tythes are indeed *Ceremonial*, and were so reputed by men of Note in several Ages, cannot reasonably be doubted by any who are acquainted with Books. Take a few of many Evidences that might be brought to prove it.

Epiphanius ranks Circumcision, Tythes and Offerings at *Jerusalem* altogether, making the payment of Tythes as much a part of the *Ceremonial Law*, as the other two. His words (speaking of some who kept the Feast of *Easter* on the fourteenth Moon, according to the *Jewish Law* for the Passover, fearing lest otherwise they might incur the Curse of that Law) are these. 'If they avoid one Curse, they fall under another. For such shall be also found accursed as are not Circumcised, such accursed as do not pay Tythes, and they also are accursed that do not Offer at *Jerusalem*. *Hæres. 30.* (See *Selden's History of Tythes*, Review, c. 4. pag. 461.) As if he had said, If they have regard to the *Ceremonial Law*, then have they as much reason to be Circumcised, to pay Tythes, and to offer at *Jerusalem*, as to observe *Easter*, according to that Law. But if they are not bound to Circumcision, Tything and Offering at *Jerusalem*, then neither are they bound to keep that Feast on the fourteenth Moon, since all these things are alike *Ceremonial*. This I take to be the fair sense of *Epiphanius* his Argument; which plainly shews, both that Tythes were not paid in his time (which was about the Year 380.) and also that he esteemed Tythes to be of the same Nature with Circumcision and *Jewish Offerings*, to have had their dependence on the same Law, and to have stood and fallen together: for he

compares Tythes to Circumcision and Jewish Offerings, which are undoubtedly abrogated. And thus Selden understood him.

Oecolampadius on *Ezek. 44.* calls Tythes expressly *Ceremonial*. His words are, "Priests, that is *Christians*, should not be greedy of filthy Lucre, neither shall they have their lot upon this Earth, but a free Inheritance in Heaven, and the Lord himself will be their reward and inheritance; what shall be wanting to them whose own God is, the very fountain of good things. So they shall be free in their minds; nevertheless to them that serve at the Altar, it is given to live of the Altar, and they may eat of the Sacrifices, receive first Fruits, receive Tythes. *These things are Ceremonial*; but *Paul* shews thereby that it is lawful to receive *Food and Rayment*, for God addeth a Blessing to his Ministers that do well. They did receive therefore of the Sacrifices, i.e. The Apostles have spiritual joy of these who sacrifice themselves to God, and the growth of the Church is their Glory; their first Born and other things are blessed. Thus he.

Walter Brute (who, in the Reign of *K. Richard* the second, about the Year 1400. was Persecuted for his Testimony against *Popery*) plainly calls the payment of Tythes a *Ceremony*. His words (speaking of the ceasing of Shadows and Ceremonies, and of the ending of the *Aaronical Priesthood*) are these, "Whereupon I marvel that your learned men do say, that *Christian Folk* are bound to this *small Ceremony* of the payment of Tythes, and care nothing at all for other as well the great as the *small Ceremonies* of the Law. And a little after (having shewed that Circumcision was one of the greater *Ceremonies* of

of the Law, and yet that *Paul* told the *Galatians*, Whosoever was Circumcised was bound to keep the whole Law) he sayes, ' In like manner we may reason, *If we be bound to Tything, we are Debtors, and bound to keep all the whole Law.* For to say that men are bound to *one Ceremony* of the Law, and not to others, is no reasonable thing. Either therefore we are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same old Law, *men are not bound to pay Tythes*, it may be shewed by many Reasons, which we need not any more to multiply and increase, because the things that be said are sufficient. For he had said a pretty deal before upon this Subject, shewing the end both of that Priest-hood to whom, and of that service for which Tythes were appointed. ' Forasmuch (sayes he) as the labour of those Sacrifices did cease at the coming of Christ, how should those things be demanded, which were ordained for that labour? And seeing (adds he) that the first Fruits were not demanded of *Christians*, which first Fruits were then (in the time of the Law) rather and sooner demanded then the Tythes: why must the Tythes be demanded, except it be therefore peradventure, because that the Tythes be more worth in value then the first Fruits. In the end he concludes, ' Wherefore seeing that neither Christ, nor any of the Apostles, commanded to pay Tythes; it is manifest and plain, neither by the Law of *Moses*, nor by Christ's Law, *Christian People* are bound to pay Tythes: but by the Tradition of Men, they are bound, *Martyrol. vol. 1. pag. 446, 447.*

The *Bohemians* also not long after, in their 15th Article against the *Popish* Clergy, say thus, ' They receive Tythes of men, and will of right have them,

' and preach and say that men are bound to pay them
 ' Tythes, and *therein they say falsly*. For they cannot
 ' prove by the New Testament, that our Lord Jesus
 ' Christ commanded it, and his Disciples warned no
 ' man to do so, neither did themselves receive them.
 ' But although in the Old Testament it were com-
 ' manded to give Tythes, yet it cannot thereby be
 ' proved that *Christian* men are bound thereto. For
 ' this precept of the old Law had an end in the first
 ' Year of our Lord Jesus Christ, like as the Precept
 ' of Circumcision. Wherefore well-beloved, con-
 ' sider, and see how your Bishops *seduce you*, and
 ' shut your Eyes with things that have *no proof*. Christ
 ' saith in the eleventh of *Luke*, Give Alms of those
 ' things that remain, but he said not, Give the
 ' Tenth of the Goods which ye possess, but give
 ' Alms, &c.

William Fulk, in his Annotations on the *Rhemists*
 Translation of the Bible, in Answer to *those Jesuits*,
 who, with *this Priest*, would needs have Tythes to
 be due by the *Moral Law*, saith thus (§.4. on *Heb. 7.*)
 ' The payment of Tythes, as it was a *Ceremonial duty*,
 ' is abrogated with other Ceremonies. But as it is
 ' a necessary Maintenance of them that serve in the
 ' Church it MAY be retained, or ANY OTHER
 ' stipend appointed, that may be sufficient for their
 ' Maintenance, be it MORE or LESS then the tenth
 ' part. But that there is any Sacrificing Priest-hood,
 ' to whom it is due in the New Testament, the old
 ' payment of Tythes *doth not prove*: Neither did
 ' Christ himself, our high Priest, ever make claim
 ' unto them: nor his Apostles, the Ministers of the
 ' Church, but only to a sufficient living by the Go-
 ' spel, to be allowed of *their* temporal Goods, to
 ' whom

‘ whom they ministred spiritual Goods, 1 Cor. 9. 14. Gal. 6. 6. Thus he (a man of no small note in the *English Church* in *Q. Elizabeth's* time) by which it is evident that he accounted Tythes a part of the *Ceremonial Law*, *abrogated* by Christ. And although he thought they might be retained as a necessary Maintenance of them that serve in the Church, yet he layes no more or greater stress on Tythes, then on *any other* sufficient stipend, whether it were *more or less* then the tenth part, which is directly contrary to this Priests Assertion, of Tythes being due by the eternal moral Law, which the Jesuits maintained and *Falk* denyed.

Of the same judgment with *Falk* was *Andrew Willet* (a man of great account in the *English Church* in *K. James* his time) He, in his *Synopsis Papismi*, fifth general Controversie, pag. 313. sayes in the name of the *English Church*, ‘ We also acknowledge ‘ (as *Bellarmine* seemeth to grant, Chap. 25.) that ‘ to pay precisely the tenth, is *not now commanded* by ‘ the Law of God: as though that order could not ‘ be changed by any human Law, as the Canonists ‘ hold, but men necessarily were bound to pay Tythes. And a little after, ‘ Though (sayes he) the Law of ‘ Tenth be *not now necessary*, as it was *Ceremonious*: ‘ but it is lawful either to keep that, or ANY OTHER ‘ Constitution for the sufficient Maintenance of the ‘ Church, whether it be MORE or LESS then the ‘ tenth part: yet we doubt not to say, that this provision for the Church-Maintenance by paying of ‘ Tythes, is the most safe, *ibid.* Here he plainly calls the Law of Tythes Ceremonial, acknowledging that men are *not necessarily bound* by the Law of God *so pay Tythes now*: and although he accounts the pay-
ing

ing of Tythes, grounded upon human Laws, the safest provision for the Church-maintenance; yet he holds it equally lawful (with respect to the Law of God) to appoint any other sufficient Maintenance, although it be *not precisely the tenth*, but either *more or less* then the tenth part. Which is utterly destructive of the *morality* of Tythes. And indeed, he makes Ministers Maintenance in general to be grounded in Equity upon the Moral Law: but Tythes to depend upon positive Laws, and he shews he understood the *Moguntine Synod* so. But for the *Levitical Law* of Tything, he calls it plainly a *politick* Constitution of that Country. His own words are, 'The *Levitical Priest-hood* being one whole Tribe, it was 'thought reasonable that the tenth part of their Brethrens Goods should be allotted to them; which being a judicial and *politick* Constitution of that Country, doth *neither* necessarily bind Christians now, 'neither is forbidden, but left in that respect indifferent. And a little after, 'Although it be a wise 'and *politick* Constitution, that the People should 'pay their Tythes, and MAY conveniently be retained, yet it is *not now of necessity imposed upon Christians*, as though no other provision for the 'Church could serve but that, pag. 314.

Much more might be alledged out of these mens Writings, to this purpose: but this in this place may suffice to shew, that the judgment of the Church of *England* in those times, was quite another thing in this case, then it is now represented by this Priest to be. But leaving these Testimonies to the Reader's consideration, return we to the Author of the *Right of Tythes*.

§. 9. He comes now to conclude his second Period, in the close of which he again repeats his *so oft reiterated* Suppositions. *I conclude*, sayes he, page 51. *that part of our Substance being due to God by the Natural and Divine Law.* (For he will yet allow God to have right *but to a part*: and it were worth inquiry how God who is *Eternally Lord of the World*, pag. 49. came to be *disseized* of his right to the whole, and who it was that so compassionate to make him a Title to *some part* again) *And the Inspired Patriarchs* (sayes he) *being taught by Revelation.* (Of which Revelation (say I) there is no Revelation, but a bold presumption of his own) *That the tenth* (sayes he) *was his part, and the Priests of God were his Receivers* (which if it were true (say I) had been Title sufficient for the *Levitical Priests*, without a particular Law on purpose to make them due) *God himself* (adds he) *having approved also this payment* (which (say I) was not a payment, but a free and voluntary Gift) *by a Renewed claim* (sayes he) (though never claim'd before, say I) *and an express assignation* (sayes he) *of his Right under the Levitical Law to the Priests for the time being* (but not to any other Priests (say I) without a new assignation) *and the same God* (sayes he) *having the same Right still to his part* (and the same Lord of all, say I, having the same Right still to all) *and the same occasion* (sayes he) *to use it for the Maintenance of his Ministers at this day* (not so, say I, for he neither hath such a Tribe to maintain, nor such Service to imploy them in at this day as then.) *Hence* (sayes he) *I suppose it will follow, That (unless an express repeal can be shew-ed) the Gospel Ministers in Gods Name, may justly*
claim

claim Tythes as due to them still, and that by a Divine Right too.

What a Series of premises hath he drawn his Discourse through, to Issue it at last in a *Suppositive Conclusion*! But it is the less to be wondered at, since his premises are mostly *Suppositive* also, leaning on *conjecture* and relying at best but on *probability*. But in this last Clause I must needs say he has express himself with more Caution and less Confidence then usually: for he speaks with a Reserve [*unless an express repeal can be shewed*] to which I return him a twofold Answer. 1. That an *express repeal* is not of absolute necessity, and that for two reasons, 1. Because, the Right which he pretends, and insists so much on, antecedent to the *Levitical Law*, is not grounded upon an *express Command*; and what is not expressly commanded, needs not be expressly repealed. And therefore he might very well allow me the same Liberty (if I either needed or list to use it) of arguing a Repeal from *Suppositions*, *Guesses*, *Conjectures* and *Maybe's*, which himself uses to prove a Right. And not only so, but I might also urge *Argumentum ad hominem*, and put him shrewdly to it, by asking him, *Where he reads that Tythes are not repealed*; and telling him (as he doth me, pag. 31.) That he cannot prove Tythes are not repealed, and I can make it appear very probable they are. But having Noted this as a weakness in him, I will not Answer him after this manner, because I would not be like unto him. 2. Because the *express Assignment* of the Right of Tythes under the *Levitical Law*, was (as himself words it, pag. 51.) *to the Priests for the time being*; and common Reason and experience tell us that when a Deed or Assignment is made to a

man for his life, there is no need, upon the Death of the Assignee, of a new deed to declare the old one void, the Death of him sufficiently declaring that, to the Term of whose Life the Assignment was at first restrained. Now the Assignment of Tythes to the Priests under the *Levitical* Law, was for and during the life of that Priesthood (if I may so express it) and had that Assignment been made void while that Priesthood lived, there had then indeed been need of an express Repeal. But seeing it was not made void in the life time of that Priesthood, but continued in force as long as that Priesthood lived, the Death or Dissolution of that Priesthood did *vocate* the Assignment in course. And there is no more Reason to expect an express Repeal of it, then there would be, if the Parliament should make a Law to continue for *three years*, to expect that, at the *three years* end, they should make another Law on purpose to declare the first void.

Thus it appears that an *express* Repeal of Tythes by *name* was not of absolute necessity, in relation to either Claim. Not in relation to the *Ante-Levitical* Claim, that Claim it self *not being grounded upon any express Command*: nor with respect to the Assignment he speaks of under the *Levitical* Law, that Assignment being at first *limited to a certain time*, to the Priests for the time being, as himself expresses it, pag. 51. Yet *Secondly*, to put it out of all doubt that Tythes are indeed ended with that legal Priesthood, the holy Apostle, by the Divine Spirit, hath most plainly and *expressly* affirmed, *That the Priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the Law*, Heb. 7. 12. Here is an express Repeal of the Law, by which the Assignment of Tythes to that Priesthood was made.

Thus have I brought him to the end of his second Period, and in the way have made it evident that *Tythes were not founded on the Law of Nature*, but on the *Levitical, Ceremonial Law*; that they had *not an inherent equity in them, nor did rely on an internal Rectitude, or eternal Reason*, but on an *external Rectitude and temporal Reason*, suitable to the Polity of that State. That as the Sacrifices and other Ceremonies of the Law, were not the Worship of God itself, which was founded upon the Law of Nature; but *Modes and Circumstances* of performing that Worship, proper to that Dispensation, which fell with that Polity, and were *abrogated* by Christ: So *Tythes were not the Maintenance in self*, which was founded upon the Law of Nature; but a *Circumstance* of the *quantity or proportion of maintenance, a Mode, Manner, Means, or Way*, by which the Maintenance was therein provided and raised, which being proper to that dispensation, fell together with the other Ceremonies of that Polity, and were *abrogated* with them by Christ; *That Tythes are not Essential to Maintenance*, but that Maintenance hath been and is without them; that Christ did not make the *Levitical Law* a Pattern for himself to imitate in providing for Gospel Ministers; that the Righteousness of the Disciples *exceeding* that of the *Scribes and Pharisees*, had *not* relation to tything, but to the *weightier matters* of the Law, Judgment, Mercy and Faith; that Tythes being assigned by the *Levitical Law*, to the Priests for the time being (*i. e.* for the time of that Priesthood's continuance only) the dissolution of that Priesthood hath *vocated* the Assignments, and *put an end to Tythes*.

Thus far then my way is *clear'd*, and nothing left unre mov'd, on which, with any colour of Reason, a Claim to Tythes may be Grounded. **CHAP.**

CHAP III.

§. 1. **I** Now go on to his third and last Period, the Times of the Gospel. He begins it with a Concession of mine, *That a Maintenance in general to the Ministers of the Gospel is just, reasonable, and established by a Divine Authority.*

With this grant he is greatly pleased, and hopes from hence to *secure* a Right to Tythes; but he is as greatly mistaken also, for Tythes I am sure can never be *squeez'd* out of that Concession. He attempts it thus, *Let him* (says he, pag. 52.) *but stand to this grant, and then it will follow, That the Ministers of the Gospel may claim a Maintenance in general, jure divino, for that Maintenance which is established by Divine Authority is due jure divino.*

This might very well have been spared, being no more then is contained in the Grant it self: I expect his Inference, which such an one as it is, here follows, *And why then* (says he) *should not that Maintenance still be so due, which God directed before the Law, approved under the Law, and never repealed after the Law?* pag. 52.

Pro thesauro carbonis! I expected he would have drawn up some notable Conclusion from my Concession; but instead thereof *to a Petition! Petitiio Principij*, a begging of the Question, namely, that *Tythes were directed by God before the Law, and never repealed after the Law* (for their being approved under the Law, conduces nothing to their continuance under the Gospel) He would very fain all along have
it

it granted, that Tythes were grounded on the Law of Nature, that the *tenth* part was alwayes Gods particular part, as he is eternally Lord of the World, and that the *Patriarchs* before the Law were by *Special Revelation* commanded to pay Tythes, but this cannot be granted. He knows the Proverb, *win it and wear it*. If he can prove it, let him; if not, he must be content to forego it. And for the repeal of Tythes after the Law, it is before Demonstratively Argued both from the *Dissolution of the Priesthood* to which the *expiration of the Term* for which, and the *express repeal* of the Law by which they were granted.

He adds, *ibid*. If the Divine Authority hath established a Maintenance, that supposeth it was such a Maintenance as was due before, according to T. E. pag. 318.

I deny that the establishing a Maintenance doth suppose there was a Maintenance due before, but it doth not infer a *parity* of Maintenance. It doth not follow, that because there was a Maintenance due before, therefore the Maintenance thus established must needs be the same, or such a Maintenance as was before due. Neither is this according to me, as he sayes, but according to himself, and his *perversion* of my words, pag. 318. Where noting my opponent of *instability* in his Position, I observe that he uses the words [Create and Establish] promiscuously, as if they were synonymous. And to shew their different acceptions, I tell him, That if he will say, *Temporal Authority hath created* ('tis his own words) *a Right to Tythes*, he thereby cuts off all pretensions to any Right antecedent to that Creation.

If

If he will say, that temporal Authority hath only established a temporal Right to Tythes, that supposes a temporal Right to them before.

Observe, I did not say, that supposes such a temporal Right to them as was before; but that supposes a temporal Right to them before. So here when I say, *Divine Authority hath established a Maintenance in general*, &c. the word [ESTABLISH] doth not suppose it to be such a Maintenance as was due before, but supposes only that there was a Maintenance in general due before, which is far enough from restraining it to a particular kind of Maintenance. Thus he at once abuses me and his Reader, and makes good the saying, *Posito uno Errore, sequuntur Mille*. For upon this false and weak Supposition that the establishing of a Maintenance supposes it to be such a Maintenance as was due before, he bestirs himself to prove that Tythes were due before. In order whereunto, after his wonted manner, supplying his Defects with Confidence, he peremptorily affirms, pag. 53. that *the Maintenance paid to Gods Ministers before the Law and under it, was Tythes*. The payment of Tythes under the Law is not questionable, as well as not imitable. But for the time before the Law, I desire him to be less peremptory, and more Demonstrative. If he please, I would gladly know who those Ministers were to whom Tythes as a Maintenance were paid before the Law; seeing the Scripture remembreth Melchizedec only to have received Tythes, and that but once, nor then as a PAYMENT, but a GIFT. And when he is upon this Subject, he may seasonably explain his next Sentence also, which is this, *The Priest-hood of Melchizedec, and of Levi, both were so maintained, namely, by Tythes*. The in-
Rance

stance of *Levi* is clear, but *not to this purpose*. But that the Priest-hood of *Melchizedec* was maintained by Tythes will be *hard* I think for him to prove. *Melchizedec* himself, as I noted before, never received Tythes *but once*, that we read of, and then he was at a considerable charge too (for it cannot be thought so great a Troop as *Abraham* led with him, three hundred and eighteen of his own Domesticks, besides his Confederates *Aner*, *Escol* and *Mamre*, could be refreshed with Bread and Wine, for a *small matter*) which expence deducted out of the Tythe he received, unlikely it is the remainder should be enough to maintain him all the time of his Priest-hood, if he, who was a King, and by the Apostles comparison, *Heb. 7.* greater then *Abraham* had needed such a Maintenance. And for *Jacob*, though it is not to be doubted but he performed his Vow, yet after what manner he performed it, is not agreed on; some thinking he paid his Tythes in kind to *they know not whom* (of which number this Priest is one, pag. 38.) Others with greater probability and better Authority, that he offered them by way of Sacrifice immediately to God. However it was, *Melchizedec* could not have them, if we understand him to be *Sem*, since most agree that *Sem* was buried long before. So that the holy Text affords no countenance at all to this over-bold Assertion, that *Melchizedec's* Priesthood was maintained by Tythes.

§. 2. He charges me pag. 53. with striving to pervert two Texts (*1 Cor. 9.* and *Gal. 6. 6.*) by two limitations. *First*, in saying, The Apostle's intent in those Scriptures is not so much to set forth what the Maintenance is, as who they are from whom it is to be received,

received, namely such as receive their Ministry, such as believe them to be true Ministers, such as are taught by them, &c. *This, he says, is a notorious falshood, for in 1 Cor. 9. St. Paul is all along speaking of the Ministers Right to be maintained.*

This is far enough from proving my words a notorious falshood, namely, that his intent is not *so much* to set forth what the Maintenance is, as who they are from whom it is to be received: for his speaking of the Ministers Right to be maintained, is not a setting forth what the maintenance is. But he would persuade his Reader that the Apostles drift was chiefly to set forth what the Maintenance is: for says he, *He shews what Maintenance was due to the Jewish Ministers, affirming that Christ had ordained [even so] that we should live of the Gospel, that is, the Rights of God under the Gospel, and the acknowledgments made to him for the Mercy therein revealed. The things of the Christian Temple and Altar were to be our Maintenance. And is not this to say what the Maintenance is? not a word in all this, who should pay it.*

This yet even as he has worded it, though he has added his own divination to the Text, doth not *so much* express what the Maintenance is, as from whom to be received. He says, *The Apostle shews what Maintenance was due to the Jewish Ministers, affirming, that Christ had ordained [even so] that we should live of the Gospel.*

What [*Even so*] as the Jewish Priests lived under the Law! What! just the very same Maintenance as they had in every respect! Not so, I trow, then this doth not express what the Maintenance is, although it doth that there is a Maintenance. But the Priest explains his [*even so*] that is, says he, the Rights

Rights of God under the Gospel; What are they? Has not God a Right to ALL under the Gospel, as well as he had under the Law and before it? How then doth this express what the Maintenance is? unless he means that he would have all? Besides, he adds another branch of this Maintenance, viz. Acknowledgments made to God for the mercy revealed in the Gospel, and these he seems to make distinct from the Rights of God: for First, he reckons the Rights of God, and then these acknowledgments made to him. But what are these? are they not voluntary, arbitrary, uncertain? And is this to set forth a certain Maintenance? How doth this man darken Counsel by words without Understanding? Job 38. 2.

But while he charges me with notorious falsehood in saying, the Apostles intent in this place is not so much to set forth what the Maintenance is, as who they are from whom it is to be received, which is indeed a plain Truth; is not he himself guilty of the notorious falsehood he labours so much to fasten on me? in saying here, *Not a word in all this who should pay it*; whereas from the very entrance of his Discourse upon this Subject, the Apostle labours to convince the believing *Corinthians*, that it was from *THEM* he might receive Maintenance. And he grounded his Argument on this especially, that *THEY* had been taught by him, and had received his Ministry. *Are not YOU my Work in the Lord?* saith he, *Verf. 1. If I be not an Apostle unto others, yet doubtless I am to YOU: for the Seal of my Apostleship are YE in the Lord, Verf. 2.* Then besides the instances he uses of a *Souldier*, a *Planter*, a *Shepherd*, he Argues plainly from *THEIR* having received
first

first of him, Verſ. 11. *If we have ſown unto YOU Spiritual things, is it a great thing if we ſhall reap YOUR Carnal things?* and Verſ. 12. *If others be partakers of this Power over YOU, are not we rather?* From all which it is moſt apparent that he makes his labour amongſt THEM and THEIR receiving his Miniſtry, the Ground and Reason of his Demand. Is not his Expoſtulation with THEM particularly, who had received the Goſpel through his Miniſtry? ſaith he not expreſſly, is it a great thing if we ſhall reap YOUR Carnals? YOURS, who are my work in the Lord; YOURS, who are the Seal of my Apoſtleſhip in the Lord; YOURS, unto whom I have already ſowed Spiritual things; And is there not a word in all this who ſhould pay, or who they are from whom the Maintenance ſhould be received. Was this man well adviſed to Tax me with a notorious falſhood, for but ſaying, The intent of the Apoſtle is not ſo much to ſet forth what the Maintenance is, as who they are from whom it is to be received? (by which words [*not ſo much*] it appears I did not wholly exclude the Maintenance, but ſhewed that the Maintenance was not in this place ſo particularly and plainly deſcribed as the Maintainers) and yet himſelf not bluſh to ſay, *There is not a word in all this who ſhould pay it*: Let him ſhew me from this Text if he can, as plainly and particularly what the Maintenance is, as I have done him, who they are from whom it is to be received. Then in the inſtances of the Ox, the Souldier, the Shepherd, and Vinadreſſer, he abuſes me not a little. *Can theſe, ſaves he, (as St. Paul brings them in) belong to thoſe who pay the Maintenance? Doth the Ox pay his Maſter Maintenance? Or the Souldier give his Prince a ſtipend?*

Can he (say I) believe that this was my meaning? Or do my words admit such a construction? Doth not my application of each of those instances convict him evidently of dishonest dealing? Do I not say expressly, *the Ox was to be fed by him whose Corn he trod out*, pag. 284. Is this to make the Ox pay his Master Maintenance? *Do I not make the Souldier maintainable by him for whose defence he fights?* pag. 285. Is this to make the Souldier give his Prince a Stipend? Say I not most plainly, *He that plants a Vineyard may eat of the Fruit, but it must be the Fruit of the Vineyard which he hath planted; And that he that feeds a Flock may eat of the Milk, but it must be the Milk of the Flock which he feeds?* *ibid.* And doth not the Apostle say the same? Is not this the free and unconstrained sense of the place? With what Face then can this Man calm an *Abuser of Scripture*, and affirm that *all the Instances do shew the contrary to what I would squeeze out of them?* Have men that have no Names, no Fore-
 • Heads neither! *The Ox* (he sayes) *must not be starved, who is willing to work, though he be not actually employed by him that feedeth him*, pag. 55.

Who said he must? Was it likely I would have the Ox starved, when I said expressly, *The Ox was to be fed?* Is feeding the way to starve him? Doth not this unjust man know fullwell, that the Question was not whether the Ox should be fed or no; but who in equity are bound to feed him, they by whom he is employed, they for whom he labours, they whose Corn he treadeth out; or they who do not employ him at all, they for whom he never labours, they whose Corn he doth not tread out, nor can, and whose business or service he is not at all fit for? This was the plain case, as my words manifest, *The Ox* (said I, pag. 284.)

284.) *that trod out the Corn (in the time of the Law) was not to be muzzled, but was to be fed by him whose Corn he trod out: but it was not agreeable to the equity of that Law, that while the Ox trod out Corn for one man, another should be bound to keep him, that had been unreasonable. Now how unrighteous is this man, from hence to insinuate that I would have the Ox starved? and how impertinent, to argue that the Ox must not be starved, though he be not actually employed by him that feeds him? thereby fallaciously intimating, that the controversy rested upon that point, whether the Ox should be fed, though by him for whom he laboured, any longer then he was in actual employment, which was no part at all of the Controversie; but whether while he was employed in one man's service, while he was treading out Corn for one man, another, for whom he did no service, should be bound to keep him. This I said was unreasonable, and not agreeable to equity. The same I now again affirm, and dare expose it to the strongest assault my Opponent is able to make against it. Now for the latter place, Gal. 6. The Priest saies, S. Paul tells them, they must give the Ministers a part of all their good things; and is not that (saith he) a declaring what the Maintenance is? By this he would again insinuate that I had altogether denied there was any kind of character or description at all of the Maintenance in these Texts, which is very unworthily done of him: for he knows fullwell my words are not positive, but comparative. I do not say the Apostle doth not at all set forth what the Maintenance is, but that the intent of the Apostle in those Scriptures, is not so much to set forth what the Maintenance is, as who they are from whom it is to be received. And that the Maintenance it self*

is not *so much* set forth, not *so plainly, fully, particularly* and *positively* declared and described in these Texts, as the maintainers, the Persons from whom it is to be received, I have already shewed on the former Scripture, and shall do now on this also. *Let him* (saith the Apostle) *that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things.* Here now is *most plainly* and *fully* declared *who it is* that is thus to communicate, *who it is* from whom the Maintenance is to be received, namely, *he that is taught in the word*: but what the Maintenance is to be is not *so plainly, so fully, so particularly* set forth; but in a general term, *In all good things.* No quantity exprest, whether a *tenth, a fifth, a fifteenth, or a twentieth* part, but left to the *free will* of the giver, which renders the proportion *uncertain.* In which respect, the Maintenance here is not *so plainly, particularly* and *certainly* exprest, as it is *from whom* it should come, which is *positively* and *certainly* bounded and limited to *him that is taught in the word.*

§. 3. He confesses, pag. 55. (for he cannot avoid it) that the Apostle sayes indeed, *He that is taught in the word must give this; but that* (sayes he) *is to distinguish Christians from Heathens, of which the World was then full. The Heathen* (he acknowledges) *was not bound to maintain the Gospel-ministers, but the Catechumen, the Christian who was or might be taught, if his own Laziness, or Pride, or Obstinacy hindered not.*

Is this according to the Text? Doth the Apostle say, *Let him that is, or might be taught, not if his own Laziness, or Pride, or Obstinacy hindered, communicate, &c?* He who was so careful to Preach the Gospel

Gospel of Christ without charge, 1 Cor. 9. 18. He that would not reap *Carnals*, but where he had before sown *Spirituals*, nor there neither alwayes; He who was so wary whom he received of, that he would not use the just power he had of receiving Maintenance from them who were his own work in the Lord, and the very seal of his Apostleship; can it be thought that he would be maintained by the *Lazy, the Proud, the Obstinate*! May it be supposed that he, who sayes, Let them that are taught in the word communicate, &c. would have them also communicate, who are not taught, but are hindered from being taught by their own Laziness, or Pride, or Obstinacy! If all such should be drawn in to maintain the Gospel-Ministers, who then should be left out! Upon what reason then were the *Heathens* exempted? might not they have been taught, if their own Laziness, Pride, or Obstinacy had not hindered? So that, although the Priest sayes, *The Heathen was not bound to maintain the Gospel-Ministers*; yet according as he has glossed the Text, and by the same reason upon which he would bring in such as might be taught, but are not; the very *Heathen* is liable to be brought in also to this Communication for the Ministers Maintenance, because, though he is not, he might be taught if his own Laziness, Pride or Obstinacy did not hinder. This is indeed a notable way to advance the Priests Maintenance: but neither is this way agreeable to natural Reason or Gospel-Truth, nor are they Ministers of the Gospel, who can receive much less exact a Maintenance after this manner.

He sayes, *ibid.* That still this (speaking of Gal. 6. 6.) proves not T. E's foolish inference, That none must contribute to a Ministers Maintenance, but those
that

that are taught by him *actually*. What quirk he catches under the word [*actually*] I know not. Sure I am, he found it not in any inference of mine. However, if he intend no more by being *actually taught* then the Apostle expresses, [*Let him that is taught, &c.*] I shall not think much of his calling me Fool, having so good and so wise a Man as the Apostle Paul to bear me company in this *Reproach*. And indeed, I had rather be *thought a Fool*, for sticking to the Apostle's sense, then *found a Knave* by perverting his sense, to uphold a *selfish* interest. But if the Priest had been desirous of an Inference of mine to confute, he needed not have formed an Inference for me: for in pag. 286. of my Book, he might have found a pair together, very pertinent to this purpose, as having respect not to this Text only, but that of 1 Cor. 9. also, in these words, *All therefore that can be inferred from these Instances will amount to no more then this, First, That a Gospel Minister may expect and receive a Gospel Maintenance from such as receive his Ministry. 2dly. That a Gospel Minister ought not to expect any Maintenance from those that do not receive his Ministry.* This is plain and full, and as I take it, *close to the Point*; & it may be he takes it so too, which made him not willing to undertake it, but fairly pass it by.

He adds, *ibid.* That *these places say nothing against a Gospel-Minister's receiving Maintenance from all professed Christians.*

This is somewhat like his saying before that I could not make it appear *Abraham did not pay Tythes*. If from these places he would derive his Claim, it will not be enough, that *they speak not against* what he claims, but it is requisite they should *speak for it*, and that *plainly* too. But these places are so far from speaking for such a Latitude as he aims at, of *scraping*

ping Maintenance from all, *taught or untaught*, that
 do but bear the Name of *Christians*, that they speak
against it. The instances of the *Ox*, the *Souldier*, the
Planter, the *Shepherd*, do sufficiently shew, that as
 Maintenance is due to those that labour, fight, take
 pains and care for others, so its due from them for whose
 sakes the labour, hazard, pains and care is undergone
 and to whose benefit it redounds. And in the two last
 instances of the *Planter* and *Shepherd* (which may
 explain the other two, being of like application) the
 Apostle sends the *Planter* for *Fruit* directly to the
Vineyard of his own planting; and the *Shepherd* for
Milk, to the *Flock of his own feeding*. The *Shepherd*
 was not to go to another *Flock*, and say, *These are*
Sheep too, and therefore *Pluck Milk them, Pluck Fleeces*
them: but he was to consider, whether he had fed
them, and if he had not fed them, he had no reason to
 expect *Milk* from them. For if *Paul* had not sowed
 unto the *Corinthians spiritual things*, it had then
 been a great matter for him to have reaped their car-
 nal things. But he grounds the reasonableness and
 equity of his Right to their carnal things, upon the
 labour he had bestowed on them, and benefit they had
 received by him in spiritual things. And in his other
 Epistle to the *Galatians*, he plainly shews that as he
 that teaches was to be communicated to, so the Com-
 munication was to be from him that was taught. And
 as this was the Doctrine, such also was the Practice of
 the Apostle. He was not forward to pick up a Main-
 tenance from every one that professed Christianity, as
 appears in the case of *Lydia*, who was fain to use
 more forcible Arguments, then her bare profession
 of Christianity, but to get him to her House. beseech-
 ing him, and those that were with him, if they judged
 her

her faithful to the Lord, to come into her House, and abide there, *Acts* 16. 15. Neither were the Disciples, when they were sent forth to Preach permitted by their Master to receive so much as Food from any but those that received their Message, *Luk.* 10. 8, 10, 11. So that all along the New Testament, wheresoever there is mention of Ministers Maintenance, it is with relation to them that own the Ministry.

But this the Priest doth by no means like, well knowing the loss that he and his Brethren would sustain, if none should be bound to maintain them, but such as own their Ministry; and therefore he uses all his endeavour to avoid the force of this Argument. He would put it by, first, by urging, pag. 56. that according to the Quakers Principles, the Christians of Old were all immediately taught by inward Revelation; And if so (sayes he) what need any Gospel-Ministry at all? What need of outward Means? What need had they to have any Teachers of the Word? Or with what equity could this Teacher require Maintenance of them, that had no occasion for his teaching at all?

If the Christians of Old were all immediately taught by inward Revelation, yet it doth not thereon follow, that there was no need of any Gospel Ministry at all, as he supposes. For if the Christians of old were all immediately taught by inward Revelation; yet a time there was when they were not so taught, but were unconverted to the Faith of Christ. The Apostle Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians, Chap. 5. Vers. 8. tels them, *Ye are now Light in the Lord.* But withal he adds, *Ye were sometime Darknes.* Now how came these Ephesians to be changed from Darknes to Light? Was it not by the means of a Gospel Ministry? Doth not the same Apostle speaking of
the

the Ministry committed to him, *Acts* 26. 16, 17, 18. lay expressly that he was made a Minister, to open the Eyes of the Gentiles, and to turn them from Darkneſs to Light, & from the Power of Satan unto God? Thus the *Ephesians*, who were sometimes Darkneſs, came to be Light in the Lord, having their Eyes opened, and being by this Ministry turned from the Darkneſs to the Light. Nor was it thus with the *Ephesians* only, but with both *Jews* and *Gentiles* in general. The work of the Gospel Ministry was to turn both *Jews* and *Gentiles* from the Darkneſs and Unbelief of *Judaism* and *Gentilism* to the Light and Faith of *Christ Jesus*. Now if after they were ſo turn'd from the Darkneſs to the Light, and from the Unbelief to the Faith, they were immediately taught by inward Revelation; yet it cannot poſſibly be ſuppoſed they were ſo taught before they were ſo turned, while they were in the Darkneſs, and in the Unbelief. So that there was need of that Ministry to turn them from Darkneſs to the Light, and from Unbelief to the Faith, in order to bring them to that inward Revelation by which they might be taught. Hence it appears, that if what he asserts to be according to the *Quakers* Principles should be granted, viz. That the *Christians* of old were all immediately taught by inward Revelation, yet his inference from thence of no need of a Gospel Ministry at all, is falſe, ſince there was need of a Gospel Ministry to bring them to that State wherein they might be ſo taught. And though this work of gathering People out of the *Jewiſh* and *Heatheniſh* States to the *Chriſtian* Faith, of turning them from the Darkneſs (in which they could not ſee) to the Light of the Gospel (by which they might ſee the Divine My-

steries of the heavenly Kingdom) was the first and chief work of the Ministry; yet was it not the only end or service to which that Ministry was appointed, and for which it was *indued with Power* from on High. For when Christ ascended up on High, and led Captivity Captive, *he gave Gifts unto men, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ, Eph. 4.* So that the work of the Ministry was not only to bring to the Faith, but to build up the Saints in the Faith, whereunto they were brought by it: which twice in one Epistle the Apostle Paul affirms, *2 Cor. 10. 8. and 13. 10.* And very Serviceable to the Saints was the Ministry of that day, even to *them who knew the Truth* and were *established in it*, them that had *received the anointing*, had it *abiding in them*, and were *taught by it*, by *exhorting them* to keep to it, and to abide in it; by *putting them* frequently in Remembrance of their duty, and *stirring up* their pure minds thereto, in which they were *helpers* of the Saints joy. Here then the Priest is found in an Error, in inferring a Conclusion which doth not follow from his own premises. For if it were granted him that the *Christians* of old were all immediately taught by inward Revelation; yet it doth not thence follow, that there was no need of any Gospel Ministry at all; since it is evident a Gospel Ministry was *altogether needful* to gather them to the true Faith, and direct them to the inward teaching; and *very useful* and *serviceable* to *confirm* and *build up* in the Faith, even those who are come to the anointing in themselves, and were taught by it.

But seeing the Priest upon a false hope that he had gotten an advantage, adventures so far as to argue equity

equity, a thing rare to be found amongst them; and upon a wrong conclusion asks, *With what equity could this Teacher require Maintenance of them, that had no occasion for his Teaching at all?* I will assure both him and his Brethren (in the name of all my fellow *Quakers*, as he calls them, the meanest of which (that is truly such) I heartily embrace as my fellow) that the *Quakers*, as they have no good Opinion of his or his Brethren's teaching, so they have no desire to be taught by them, *nor have any occasion for their teaching at all, being far better taught without them.* And here upon I ask him in his own words, *With what equity he and his fellow Priests can require Maintenance of them, that have no occasion for their teaching at all?*

His second shift to void the force of those Texts which restrain the Ministers Maintenance to them that receive and own the Ministry, and to justify the Priests practice of extorting Tythes from those that are not taught by them, is an exact Parallel Case, as he calls it, which he thus brings in, pag. 57. *Suppose a pious man, sayes he, an hundred Years ago did endow a Free-School with 20 l. per annum, to be raised out of the profits of a parcel of Ground, worth 200 l. per annum, (that is, the tenth part of the profits) on condition that all the Boyes in such a Town should be taught, gratis. Now suppose there be a Master legally invested in this School, resident at it, and ready to teach all the Boyes of that Town, if they will come, it being the same trouble to him to teach 10. as 20. but it may be not above 10. of 20. Boyes within that Town will come to be taught, the rest are Truants, and do not come. If T. E. himself were the Heir or Tenant to this 200 l. per annum, would he thinke it*

just or reasonable to stop 10l. of the 20l. because half the Boyes do not come to be taught. This (he sayes) is the very case between the present Clergy and the Quakers.

But he mistakes in this as well as the rest. His Parallel will not hold between the *Quakers* and the Boyes; for the Boyes in this case, whether they come to School or stay away, *are not concerned* in the Maintenance of the Master, but the *Quakers* whether they hear the Priest or stay away *are concerned* (more then they should be) in the Maintenance of the Priest. The School-master has *no advantage at all from the Boyes, if they come to be taught*, for he receives his stipend from another hand, *without any dependance on the Boyes*. And if the Boyes come not to be taught, they *suffer nothing*, they *lose nothing*, for as they *receive nothing*, they *pay nothing*. But the Case is far otherwise between the Priest and the *Quakers*. For the Priest comes for his Maintenance to the *Quakers*, and has his dependance on their labour, and whether the *Quakers* come to hear or no, to be sure he make *them pay*, that is, he tears away their Substance from them. See now the difference between the Boyes and the *Quakers*; the Boyes *pay nothing* though they *are taught*, but the *Quakers must pay* though they *are not taught*. The Boyes *are taught for nothing*: the *Quakers pay for nothing*. Is this his *exact Parallel*, his *very Case*! If he would have made the Boyes Case Parallel with the *Quakers*, he should have supposed the Masters stipend was to be raised out of the Boyes earnings, as the Priests Maintenance is extorted out of the *Quakers labours*; and then, if the Boyes had found the Master as incapable of teaching Grammar, as the *Quakers* have found the Priests

Priests incapable of *Preaching the Gospel*; or if the Boyes had found the Master had taught *false Latine*, as the *Quakers* have found by sad experience, the Priests have taught *false Doctrine*, I think the Boyes would have been much more *commandable* for seeking out an *abler Teacher*, then the Master could have been *excusable* for taking away the *Poor Boyes Money*, when he *neither did, nor could do them any good*. I might here shew the disparity and unaptness of his Comparison in many other particulars also, both as to the Donation, the certainty of stipend, &c. But this which is said will I doubt not sufficiently manifest, that instead of shewing the *fallacy* of my arguing (which by this *Parallel* he undertook to do) he hath but shewed his own *weakness*.

§. 4. In his 10th Section, pag. 38. He charges me thus, T. E.'s *second device to take off his former grant of a general Maintenance establish'd by Divine Authority*, is pag. 286. That *Christ hath expressly set down what this Gospel Maintenance is, viz. only Meat and Drink*, Mat. 10. 10. Luke 10. 6, 7, 8. 1 Cor. 9. 4. Upon which he thus comments, *Truly this seems some-what strange*, sayes he, *that T. E. should first say, Divine Authority hath only establish'd a maintenance in general, and in the next page but one, affirm, That the same Authority had particularly express'd what this maintenance must be. If* (sayes he) *Christ have allotted the particular maintenance, then he hath not left it to generals; if he have establish'd it only in general, then hath he not express'd the particulars. One of these* (adds he) *must be false, for indeed there is a manifest contradiction.*

In his *Parallel* but now I noted him of *Weakness*,
but

but here I cannot excuse him from *Wickedness* in thrusting in words *as mine*, which he certainly knows are *not mine*, that he might thereby pervert my meaning. *Disingenuity* is too mild a word to express such dealing as this is by; this is *plain dishonestly*. Truly (says he) *this seems some-what strange, that T. E. should first say, Divine Authority had only established a maintenance in general, and in the next page but one, affirm, that the same Authority hath particularly expressed what this maintenance must be.* Here he affirms, that in one page I say, Divine Authority had *only* established a Maintenance in general, and that in the next page but one I affirm, the same Authority hath *particularly* expressed what this Maintenance must be; where the words [*only*] in the first place, and [*particularly*] in the second, are *not* my words, but his own, thrust in on purpose to *abuse* me, and render my sayings absurd and contradictory. In the first of those places, pag. 284. he refers to, my words are plainly thus. *That a Maintenance in general to the Ministers of the Gospel, is Just, Reasonable, and established by a Divine Authority, I grant.* Here's no such word as [*only*] and yet he affirms, that I here say, Divine Authority had *only* established a Maintenance in general. In the other place, pag. 286. My words are, *But what this Gospel Maintenance is, is expressly set down by Christ himself.* Here's not the word [*particularly*] and yet he says, I here affirm, That the same Authority hath *particularly* expressed what this Maintenance is. And the better to persuade the Reader that I had so written as he reports me, when he first repeats my saying that Christ hath expressly set down what this Maintenance is, he adds in the same Character [*viz. only*

meat and drink] as if he had taken these words also out of my Book together with the other; and then sayes, *Truly, this seems some-what strange.* Doth it so *more shame for him that made it seem so.* Truly it would seem the more strange to me also, that he should deal so unjustly by me, had he not served me in the like manner *more then once before.* Nor can it be supposed this happened by chance, since he insists deliberately on it, and argues from it. For he sayes, *If Christ have allotted the particular maintenance, then he hath not left it to generals; if he have established it only in general, then he hath not expressed the particulars.* And he improves his argument to this conclusion, *One of these must be false, for indeed there is a manifest Contradiction.* But does he not know which of them is false? I will tell him then, *'Tis that which he has falsified, to make the contradiction.* But till he had thus corrupted them, there was neither falsehood nor contradiction in them, nor any thing else that might seem strange. For, if the first part had been a *Position*, as it was but a *Concession*, yet I hope it had been no Contradiction to say, first, That a Maintenance in general is established by a Divine Authority; and afterwards, That Christ hath expressly set down what this Maintenance is.

But he goes on upon this willful mistake, that I say, The Maintenance is only Meat and Drink. And having first bestowed his usual *Livry* of folly upon me, he yields, pag. 60. that in those Texts which I cited out of St. Matthew, and St. Luke, the Maintenance set down is Meat and Drink. *When the Apostles (sayes he) went to the prejudiced and unbelieving Jews with the first news of the Gospel, meat and drink was as much as they could expect; and Christ bid*

bids them to take that and be contented. But this he sayes was upon a particular occasion, and to apply these Rules to all Ministers, or to the general Commission he gave them afterwards, is the most ridiculous and absurd thing imaginable.

Though the Disciples were then sent but into the Cities of *Judea*, yet the Service they went upon was the same then as after, *viz.* Preaching the Gospel. And if the *Jews*, amongst whom they then went, were prejudiced and unbelieving, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, amongst whom they went afterwards, were prejudiced and unbelieving also. So that to urge this as a reason why meat and drink was as much as they could expect, and therefore that they were to take that and be contented, is weak arguing; for it supposes they were to be content with that, *because they could get no more*, whereas they were not to take so much as that, unless it were freely given, and by them that were worthy; he who opened the hearts of any to give that, could have enlarged their hearts to give much more, had he pleased. But if to apply the Maintenance in these places exprest, to the general Commission given afterward be absurd (as he sayes) where shall we find any other Maintenance to apply to that Commission, since he that gave the Commission mentions no other Maintenance but this?

But he sayes, pag. 60. *When Christ bids his Apostles to take Meat and Drink, and be content, he doth nowhere forbid them to receive more, if good men freely gave it to them.*

I do not say he did. But the Question is not what freedom they might use in receiving what good men freely gave them: But what was due unto them for their Service, and what they might justly expect.

Which

Which although my *injurious* Opponent would in my Name limit to Meat and Drink *only*; yet as I used not those terms [*Only Meat and Drink*] so neither do I think the intent of our Saviour was to tie up his Ministers to Meat and Drink *only*, in the strict and literal sense of the words, but by the phrase of *eating and drinking* to intimate the *necessary Conveniences* of Life. And so the Apostle Paul seems to understand it, when speaking of Maintenance, with reference to these Texts, as his Phrase gives ground to believe, he says, *Have we not power to eat and to drink*, 1 Cor. 9. 14. and in another place, *Having Food and Rayment let us be therewith content*, 1 Tim. 6. 8. Which Phrase [*Food and Rayment*] is commonly understood to express the *necessaries* of man's Life. What therefore he urges hereupon (*viz.* that *If Christ had determined Meat and Drink for the ONLY Gospel-maintenance, then the Apostles had been great Sinners in receiving the price of Possessions sold and dedicated, and that they must have returned them back again, as must also St. Paul have done the wages he took of other Churches, and those liberal presents he received from the Philippians*) is all grounded on a mistake that I restrain the Gospel-maintenance to Meat and Drink *only*, as if it were not lawful for a Gospel-Minister to receive any thing but Meat and Drink *only*, though never so freely offered by such as receive his Ministry, and reap the benefit of it. Whereas he that shall impartially read what I have there written, and not strain my words to a Construction which the scope and drift of them cannot fairly bear, may clearly see, that I do not strictly tie the Maintenance to Meat and Drink *only*, since I there quote and apply the words of the Apostle, *Having Food and Rayment*

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(which is more then Meat and Drink only) *let us therewith be content.* Besides, the scope of my Argument in that place was not to shew what freedom a Gospel-Minister may have, or how far it may become him *to use* that liberty, in receiving what is freely and voluntarily given by *those that own* and embrace his Message: but what he may justly look for, and expect to receive *as his Right*, and *from whom*. Now we know there is a great difference between expecting or looking for a thing as *a just due*, and receiving or accepting a thing as *a free gift* or benevolence: Which distinction the Priest not observing, hath argued thus loosely and at random, urging the *free Gifts* and *voluntary Presents* made to the Apostle by some Churches whom he had Planted, Watered, and bestowed *much of his labour* upon, as Examples and Presidents for himself and his Brethren of the Clergy to demand, require, *exact*, extort and by force take from People now their Goods and Substance, not only *against the Owners will*, but even from such as they have neither Planted, Watered, nor Laboured for; such as *receive not*, nor own their Ministry.

Here the other Priest in his Vindication, pag. 301. hath a particular Crochet, from my saying, What this Gospel-Maintenance is, is expressly set down by Christ himself, when he said to his Disciples, *Eat such things as are set before you. Eat and Drink such things as they give;* &c. he infers, *According to this Rule Tythes are a Gospel-maintenance, which have been expressly set before us, expressly given us.* A pretty quirk! Because those things which were freely, cheerfully & without any constraint, set before the Apostles or given to them, were the proper Maintenance appointed

pointed for them; therefore Tythes, which poor men *full sore against their wills* (as well as beyond their abilities) are *compelled*, by the three-Corded Whip of *treble damages*, to set out for the Priests, is a Gospel-Maintenance-also. Is it not a sign they have an ill cause to mannage, who are fain to make use of such pittiful shifts as these? But if he can satisfie himself that Tythes are a Gospel-Maintenance because set before them, (although they who so set them are *constrained thereto*) yet what will he say to the ease of those *others*, who preferring their *Christian freedom* before outward Liberty, and an *undefiled Conscience* before all Worldly priviledges and advantages, cannot by any terrors be induced to set the Tythes before the Priests, or give it to them (as well knowing that *neither are those Priests the Ministers of Christ, nor Tythes a Gospel-maintenance*) but for their faithful Testimony against them, have their Bodies shut up in *nafty Holes* and *stinking Dungeons*, and their Goods made Havock of by the Priests means, and forcibly taken from them? Will he call this a Gospel-maintenance also; *Such a Maintenance may please such a Ministry*; but they who know the Gospel, understand better, and cannot be so deluded. But the Priest adds, *That if Tythes were not Melchizedec's due before such time as Abraham gave him them; yet when they were so given him, they were without all dispute, which (sayes he) will sufficiently make good our Title to Tythes (could we lay no other claim unto them) wherefore it was (sayes he) that I said before, That if they were not due by a divine appointment, yet are they now due by a voluntary dedication of them.*

That those Tythes which Abraham gave Melchizedec were Melchizedec's after Abraham had given him

them, is indeed without dispute; but for the Priest thence to infer, That that will sufficiently make good their claim to Tythes, is an absurd and very irrational Inference. Though that gift of *Abraham's* did intitle *Melchizedec* to the things thereby given; yet it did not entitle him to *anything else*, either from *Abraham* or *any other* person. So that if the Priest had any right to claim from *Melchizedec*, yet could he not thereby extend his claim any further then to *those particular Spoils* which *Abraham* gave *Melchizedec*. For if *Melchizedec* himself could not by virtue of that Gift claim any thing else, much less then can any other. And though the Priest finding *Ethelwolf's* Donation not so credible as he hoped it would have been, would now make as if in his former words, *Confer. pag. 146.* [viz. That if Tythes were not due by a divine appointment, they are now due by a voluntary dedication of them] he had reference to this Gift of *Abraham's*, yet is it but a meer shift and evasion: for it is manifest that by the Civil Powers and Nursing Fathers of the Church, he had direct relation to *Ethelwolf* and others who lived near his time. But men who account their Tongues their own, will take the liberty to say any thing.

S. 5. In his 11th *Section*, he undertakes to shew, That our Lord *Jesus* and his *Apostles* have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel-Ministers; and that they may be proved also out of the New Testament to be due *Jure divino*; pag. 61.

This indeed is somewhat to the purpose. If he prove this, the Controversie is ended. But if he has no better Evidence to prove Tythes due *jure divino* under the Gospel, then he has offered to prove them
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so due before the Levitical Law, he will fall very much short of his undertaking. Let us see however what he has to offer in this place, where his greatest strength may be expected.

His first *medium* to prove that our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel-Ministers, is this, That there is no Repeal of Tythes in all the New Testament.

This is no more then he hath said before *over and over*, and which I have already discovered the weakness & emptiness of, having plainly shewed, that there was no necessity of an *express* Repeal of Tythes by name, either in relation to the Claim made to them from a pretended Right before the Law, that pretended Right not being grounded upon an *express* Command; or with respect to the Assignment of them to the *Levitical* Priest-hood by the *Levitical* Law, that Assignment being but *temporary*, and limited to the continuance of that Priest-hood, made (as this Priest says expressly, pag. 51.) *to the Priests for the time being*; and so to expire in course with that Priest-hood. And yet, to put the matter out of all doubt that Tythes are ended with that Priest-hood where the Apostle mentions the change of the Priest-hood, in the very same place he affirms, that *the Law is changed also*, which he argues as a necessary Inference from the change of the Priest-hood. *For the Priest-hood being changed* (says he, *Heb. 7. 12.*) *there is made of necessity a change also of the Law*. And that he speaks there with relation to the Law of Tythes, as well as the other parts of the *Levitical* Law, is most clear from Ver. 5. where he saith, *And verily they that are of the Sons of Levi, who receive*
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the Office of the Priest-hood, have a Commandment to take the Tythes of the People according to the Law, &c. But now, the Sons of *Levi* being discharged from the Office of the Priest-hood, and that Priest-hood, which stood in that Tribe of *Levi*, being changed, that Law also is changed, according to which those Sons of *Levi*, who executed the Office of that Priest-hood, had a Commandment to take Tythes of the People. I appeal to every judicious Reader, whether this be not the free and natural sense of the Apostles words. And may not this be called *A Repeal of Tythes*? Then neither may the other be called a Repeal of the Priest-hood: for neither here, nor elsewhere, that I remember, is it said in so many Syllables, *The Priest-hood is repealed*. Yet as there is enough said here, to warrant a Conclusion that *the Priest-hood is ended*, though the word [*Repeal*] be not used; so is there in like manner enough said here, to warrant a Conclusion that *Tythes are ended* also, though the word [*Repeal*] is not used.

He adds under this Head, That *Our Saviour did not revoke Tythes, so far as they were Moral, and a necessary provision for his Ministers; so far as they were founded on the Law of Nature, and Primitive Revelation, and grounded on an eternal Reason*, pag. 62.

All this is but a new begging of the old Question. I deny that Tythes were *Moral*, founded on the Law of *Nature*, or grounded on an eternal Reason. This is true of Maintenance in general, but it is not true of the *Modes* and *Circumstances* of Maintenance, whereof Tythe is one. For Tythe (as I have said before) is a *mode* or way of raising Maintenance, a *Circumstance* of the *quantity* or proportion of Maintenance. And though it be a dictate of the Law of Nature

ture and eternal Reason that there should be a Maintenance, that *the Labourer should be rewarded*; yet doth not the Law of Nature prescribe the *certain quantity* or proportion of Maintenance, nor the *way or means* by which it must be raised. These depend not on an eternal, but on a *temporal Reason*, *variable* according to the diversity of times, places and occasions.

He adds further, *If Tythes had been the only thing of this kind to be abolished, it seems necessary there should have been an express Revocation of them, which we are sure there is not; and therefore expressa nocent, non expressa non nocent.*

Tythes were not the *only* thing of this kind to be abolished: for *all the other Ceremonies* of the Law were abolished as well as Tythes; and yet, as necessary as it seems to him, he shall not find an *express* Revocation of the *one half* of them. Will he thence infer that they are not all revoked, or that those remain still in force, of which there is not an *express* Revocation! He understands better I hope. But if he will admit *other Ceremonies* of the Law to be abolished; notwithstanding there appears no *express* Revocation of them, he cannot with Reason insist that Tythes are therefore not abolished, because no *express* Revocation of them appears. But how strangely *partial* is he, and *misguided* by a *selfish Interest*, who would have Tythes due *without an express Command*, but will not allow them to be ended without an *express* revocation! His Rule, *expressa nocent non expressa non nocent*, is so far from confirming him, that it utterly overthrows his Cause, and rales the conjectural and suppository Foundation of a Right to Tythes before the Law. For there's his *Non expressa*
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(things not exprest) which do not at all hurt me, nor help him. And for his *expressa nocent*, I have already found him enough exprest, even in point of Repeal and Revocation, in those words of the Apostle Paul [The Priest-hood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the Law] *Heb. 7. 12.*

He concludes this first part of his proof thus. *We may reasonably believe, That Jesus intended they should remain of Divine Right as they had been reputed alwayes before.*

Is this *cogent*? Nay, is it indeed *urgent* or *persuasive*? How does he prove that Tythes had *alwayes before* been reputed of Divine Right? Without *begging the Question* he can do nothing. But why should we reasonably believe Jesus intended Tythes should remain of Divine Right? Because *he took away the Law*, by which they were due, and *the Priest-hood* to which they were due? Were these arguments of his intention that Tythes should remain! With much more reason may we believe that Jesus intended *they should not remain*, seeing he (who knew as well as this Priest, that *the Assignation* of them *was made but to the Priests for the time being*; and that therefore, without a new Institution, they would be void in course at the dissolution of that Priest-hood) did not think fit, either by himself or his Apostles, to give so much as an *intimation*, either by word or practise, that Tythes should remain for the Maintenance of Gospel Ministers. Had Christ intended a continuance of Tythes, it is not to be doubted but he would have signified his intention. But seeing *no such thing is exprest*, the Priest must remember his own *Axiom* [*non expressa non nocent. i. e. things not exprest, do not hurt*] and be content.

§. 6. Thus I have gone through the several parts of his *first Medium*, in which there is *no strength at all* to prove his Position, that our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers. I come now to his second, which runs thus, *But this is not all, for there are positive Laws which do fairly intimate, that Tythes were to be the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers, when the Church was settled,* page 62.

'Twas well what he said before was not all, for if it had, he had as good have said nothing. And truly I somewhat Question whether what he says now will be much more to the purpose. There are *positive Laws*, he says, which do fairly intimate, &c.

Are intimations the proper Results of positive Laws? If the Laws are *positive*, methinks they should declare *positively*, not only *hint* things by *intimation*. But waving that, (and his other less positive proofs, such as our Saviour's affirming, Tythes ought to be paid, in the Time of the Law, when all men grant they were due, &c. which, he says, plead only a *probability*, and which I deny to plead *so much* as a *probability*) I hasten after him to those two plain places (as he calls them) which I take to be the *positive Laws* mentioned before, which, he says, do fairly intimate, that Tythes were to be the maintenance of the Gospel Ministers, when the Church was settled. The first of these two plain places, is That (he says) of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 9. 14. affirming, *That like as the Jewish Priests and Levites lived of the Tythes and Oblations under the Law, even so there was a special Or-*

dinance of Christ, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel: that is, sayes he, of those good things which should be dedicated and offered in gratitude for the Gospel, p. 63.

How hard is this poor man put to it, to piece up something that might look a little like a proof. This is at least the *third* time, that he has been driven to his [*Even so*] and yet he is *even* at a loss still. For supposing the particle *Even* to be necessarily rendered [*Even so*] as it is, what can be thence inferred? That Gospel Ministers should live of the Gospel *Even so*, as the Jewish Priests and Levites lived of the Tythes and Oblations under the Law? What, just as they lived? exactly after the same manner? Why then the Ministers of the Gospel should not have the Tythes, but the Tythes of the Tythes, that is, but the hundredth part; for *even so* the Jewish Priests had, the Levites had the Tythes, and paid this hundredth part, or Tythe of Tythe to the Priests, and the rest of the Priest Maintenance was made up by Oblations. So that if the Priests now will needs as Gospel Ministers be maintained, and live *even just so* as the Jewish Priests lived, they must introduce the Jewish Oblations again, the Burnt-Offerings and Bloody Sacrifices, as in the time of the Law, and to deny the one Offering, and become Debtors to the whole Law. This looks strangely; and yet I see not how it can be avoided, if they will strain the Particle [*Even*] to an exact parity of Maintenance between Jewish Priests and Gospel Ministers, and if they do not strain it to such a parity, they cannot squeeze Tythes out of it; for then they that preach the Gospel may live of the Gospel, as well as the Jewish Priests and Levites lived of the things of the Temple, and of the Altar, and yet not by Tythes.

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And indeed, notwithstanding his [*Even so*] that he sayes to explain what it is to live of the Gospel, *that is* (sayes he) *of these good things which should be dedicated and offered in gratitude for the Gospel*, is far enough from proving it must be Tythes: for this shews the Maintenance was to be what Believers were willing *freely to give*, which might as well be a Sixth, or a Twelfth, a Fifth, or a Fifteenth part, as a Tenth, according as their ability would permit, or the occasion should require. And if it were in the Donors choice what part to give, that leaves no place for a Divine Right to Tythes. Thus then we see this *first* of his *plain* places, and *positive* Laws, is so far from affording a *positive* proof that Tythes were to be the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers, that it doth not so much as *fairly intimate* it.

But to help out the matter he adds pag. 64. That *the blessed Jesus who ordained this, did incline the hearts of pious Christians to dedicate Tythes and other Oblations made in gratitude for the Gospel.*

This I shall have occasion to take further notice of, when I shall come anon to examine his Dedications, Donations and Charters. In this place let it suffice, that what he takes for granted, *I deny*, and expect proof of. The World is not ignorant what heaps of Oblations and Dedications have been made, under pretence of gratitude for the Gospel, by many whose hearts the Blessed Jesus did never incline thereto.

I come now to his second *plain* place or *positive* Law, as he calls it, which he thus brings in, *Least any should say, This Text supposes something will be given, but doth not enjoin the Christians to give, we have another Law directed to the People, containing*

both their duty and the Ministers Right, Gal. 6. 6. Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.

His former Text, he sayes, supposes something will be given, and this enjoyes something shall be given, but neither one nor t'other expresse *what part*. What proof then can either of these places afford that Tythes, or the *tenth* part, was to be the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers, and that our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers, whenas neither of these places mention Tythes or any *certain quantity*! He that is *taught in the word* is to Communicate unto him that *teacheth in all good things*. That he doth as really, though not *so largely*, who giveth but an hundredth part, as he that giveth a tenth. And on the other hand, if he that is to be the receiver may take the liberty of fixing the *quantity*, he may if he please, make it a *third* part or a *half*, as well as a tenth. We see then no *certain Conclusion* can be drawn from these Texts as to the *proportion or quantity* of Maintenance, that being left *wholly free*, and at the disposal of the Giver. Consequently Tythes, which are a *certain quantity* cannot be proved by these Scriptures to be established by our Lord Jesus and his Apostles for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers. Thus these two plain places and positive Laws (as the Priest calls them) are plain and positive enough *agairst him and his Brethren*, to prove, that they ought not to exact Maintenance from those that deny their Ministry: but will not prove what he would have, viz. Tythes for the Gospel Maintenance, either *positively*, or by *fair intimation*.

To back his *insufficient* proofs, he runs over again his *overworn* Stories of the *Antiquity* of the tenth part, how it was *made known by God to be his part by Revelation, and learn'd by the Heathens by Primitive Tradition*, and much more of the same Rank. In all which his Conclusions, are no more forcible then that *in all reason it ought to be that part; and there is no reason to deni't, but that this is the share or portion of Gospel Ministers*, pag. 66.

But this being so groundless, and having been so often Answered, I think it not worth my while to stay upon; but proceed to an Objection he makes, pag. 67. *There is (sayes he) but one Objection against this, viz. That Tythes are not mentioned in the Gospel or Epistles to be the very part.*

If there were no other Objection but this, yet this is such an one as he can never be able to remove. A grand Objection indeed, strongly inforced against himself by the Maxim urged by himself, (pag. 62.) *Non expressa non nocent*, Those things which are not exprest do not hurt This shuts out all his Conjectures, and Suppositions, and restrains him closely to what is exprest. But seeing (by his own confession, pag. 67.) Tythes are not exprest, not mentioned in the New-Testament to be the Gospel-Maintenance, how rash and over-confident was he in the entrance of his 11th Section to assert (pag. 61.) That our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the *Gospel-Ministers*, and that they may be proved also out of the New-Testament to be due, *jure divino*! Will he undertake to prove that out of the New-Testament, which he confesses is not mentioned in the New-Testament, and yet at the same time tell us, *Non expressa non nocent*

nocent! What man of reason, modesty or name would not be ashamed of this! But besides this which he hath brought, there are other Objections against Tythes being the Maintenance of Gospel-Ministers, namely, That Tythes or a tenth part is a *Ceremony*, Mode, or Circumstance of Maintenance, and as such was a part of the *Ceremonial Law*, which being abrogated by Christ, was not fit to be received amongst *Christians*; That a Maintenance by Tythes, or any other certain, fixed and determinate quantity, is not agreeable with the Nature of the *Gospel*, which as it self is *free*, so ought the Maintenance also to be; this being one of the Believers *Priviledges* under the *Gospel*: The *Law* was a State of *Bondage*; the *Gospel* is a State of *Liberty*. The *Law* represented the condition of *Servants*; the *Gospel* that of *Sons*. The *Law* treated those that were under it, as Children in *Nonage* under Tutors and Governours; the *Gospel* treats them that receive it, as men arrived to an *adult* age. Besides, under the *Gospel*, Tythes are not an *equal* way of Maintenance, in respect either of the *Giver*, or of the *Receiver*, or of the *Service*.

Many other Objections might also be urged against Tythes being a *Gospel-Maintenance*, but these may serve to convince the Priest, that he was too *hasty* in concluding there is but *this one* Objection which he has brought. But leaving these, at least at present, let us see how he attempts to remove that one Objection which himself has urged, *viz.* That Tythes are not mentioned in the *Gospel* or *Epistles* to be the *very* part. To this, sayes he, I reply, There are very good Reasons why Tythes are not mentioned in the *New-Testament*, by name; His first reason is, To avoid all occasion

occasion of scandal to the Jews, whose Priests were then in Possession of them.

There is now weight at all in this reason; for we see that in that very Epistle which was written to the *Hebrews* or *Jews* themselves, the Apostle tells them expressly (and argues it forcibly and undeniably) that the *Jewish* Priest-hood, and the Law by which they took Tythes, together with that Covenant, and the whole *Jewish* Polity, were abrogated and ended by Christ. And he that had written all this so *Plain, so Full, so Home*, needed he avoid mentioning Tythes as a Gospel-Maintenance, *for fear of giving Offence to the Jews!* What can be more irrational! What could have been said more Offensive to the *Jews* then he in that Epistle writ! Besides, whatsoever was written by the Evangelists or Apostles, whether it were Historical or Epistolary, it was written for, and dedicated to the Believers in Christ Jesus; not to Unconverted *Jews*, but to those who were turned from *Judaism* to the *Christian* Faith; which whosoever truly was, must needs be brought from off the *Jewish* Priests, and see the end of that *Priest-hood*, by the Springing up of a New one. It cannot then with Reason be supposed, that they who believed the *Jewish* Priest-hood ended, and Consequently that Tythes were no longer due unto it, would in zeal to that Priest-hood have taken Offence at the mentioning of Tythes for a Gospel-Maintenance, or that the holy Pen-men did for that Reason omit the mention of them. But further, If it might with any shew of Reason be allowed that in not mentioning Tythes as a Gospel-Maintenance, Regard was had to the *Jews*: Yet what Relation at all could this Reason have to the *Gentiles*, unto whom the far greater part of the Epistles were written?

written? Will he suppose the *Gentiles* would have been Offended at the Trasferring of Tythes from the *Jewish Priests* to the Gospel-Ministers? That indeed may well be supposed; but not upon the score on which he grounds his Reason. They might justly indeed have been scandaliz'd, had the *Jewish Ceremonial Maintenance* by Tythes been introduced among *Christians*; but not out of any love or zeal for the *Jewish Priests*, of whom they had not so great esteem, and to whom they bear not so much good Will. Neither is this all, but the emptiness and lightness of this Reason will more fully yet appear to him that shall consider, that some of the Apostles lived to see the *Jewish Priests* actually dispossess'd of Tythes, and that Nation dispersed and scattered, the Synagogue not only dead, but buried, and the whole *Jewish Polity* destroyed, and yet after all this, no claim put in to Tythes, no exhortation to pay them, no mention of them as a Gospel-Maintenance. If therefore one should suppose the Apostles forbore to claim Tythes as the Gospel-Maintenance, while the *Jewish Priests* were possess'd of them, and that Polity had yet some shew of standing, in condescension to the Jews, and to avoid all occasion of scandal to them; yet surely he must abandon all Reason, and utterly renounce his Understanding, that can believe they forbore upon this Reason to claim Tythes afterwards also, when they had seen the Temple raised to the Ground, the *Jewish Priests* actually dispossessed, and that whole Polity totally subverted. If Tythes had been intended for the Gospel Ministers Maintenance, and in tenderness to the Jews, (as he fancies) had been suffered awhile to run in their old Channel, till the whole *Jewish Polity* had been Destroyed, yet what shew of Reason

Reason can be given, why those Apostles that lived to see the whole *Jewish* Polity Destroyed, did not then turn Tythes into their *New* and proper Channel, and *expressly* declare, That Tythes were the *Maintenance* established by Christ for the Gospel Ministers?

His second Reason why Tythes are not mentioned in the New Testament to be the Maintenance of Gospel Ministers is this, *There was not any need for Jesus to make any new Law for Tythes, since they were sufficiently declared to be due to God before, by Revelation, and Example, by Reason and God's own choice; by the grounds on which they were given, and the ends for which they were employed,* pag. 68.

If his Particle [*before*] refers to his *second* Period, the time of the *Levitical* Law, he then speaks to *no purpose at all*, that Law being ended, and any Title thereby *disclaim'd* by the present Clergy. And if it relate to his *first* Period, the time *before* the *Levitical* Law, I have then already refuted this Reason of his *over and over*; and doubtless were he not at a great strait, he would not thus *nauseate* his Reader with *Tautologies*. That Tythes were due to God before the *Levitical* Law, and sufficiently declared so to be by Revelation, Example, Reason, &c. he has *beg'd* a Concession of *beyond all degrees of Modesty*, but not offer'd *one* solid Reason to prove. Of the ground on which they were given, and the end for which they were employed before the Law, there is nothing *express*, and he knows who said, *Non expressa non nocent, i. e.* Things not *express*, hurt not.

His third Reason why Tythes are not mentioned in the New Testament to be the Maintenance of Gospel Ministers is, Because *the devotion of the Christi-*

ans in those dayes was so great, that they gave more then a tenth freely, Selling all and following Christ, and bestowing on the Apostles more then they were in a condition to receive, pag. 69.

That the *Christians* in those dayes gave more then a tenth, is more then he can prove. For though some of them sold their Possessions, and laid the price thereof at the Apostles Feet, yet was not that given to the Apostles for their proper use, but deposited as in a common stock or treasury, for the common supply and maintenance of them all, while they lived together in that Community, which was not long. But what part soever it was that they gave, it is enough for my purpose that it was a Gift, a free Gift. And if our Lord Jesus did not think fit to make any new determination of the tenth part by Name, pag. 69. after that the old determination thereof under the Law was determined and ended by his Death; but committed his Ministers to the *Christians* devotion for Maintenance, how comes this Priest so confidently to affirm, pag. 61. That our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers? How strangely doth he contradict himself herein, when in one place he is positive that our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers, pag. 61. in the other as expresses, That our Lord and his Apostles did not make a new determination of the tenth part by name, pag. 69. and urges Reasons to prove that they neither did nor needed make any new Law for Tythes; as first, The great devotion of Christians in those dayes, pag. 69. Secondly, The expectation our Lord Jesus might have, that the joyful Message of his Gospel should be so thankfully received, that those to whom it was
sent,

sent, should do as much freely to the gratifying his Messengers, as the servile Jews did by the compulsion of a positive Law, pag. 70. Thirdly, The fore-sight our Lord Jesus had, that his Grace would open the Hearts of Kings and Princes, and other devout persons to give more then a tenth part of their good things, to those in his Name and for his sake, who were sent to Preach the Gospel. Fourthly, That since such times were coming, our Lord might probably on purpose decline determining the proportion too expressly, that Christians might have the opportunity of a voluntary Charity. Fifthly, That this was more agreeable to the freedom and ingenuiry of Sons, which Christians are compared to. Sixthly, That positive Laws were likely to be made when the decayes of Piety and Charity did require them, pag. 71. These are the Reasons he offers for proof that our Lord Jesus and his Apostles did not make a new determination of the tenth part by name, and that in the very same Section, wherein he so confidently affirmed, That our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers. If they have established Tythes, they have then established a tenth part by name; for Tythes are denominated, or take their Name, from the number Tenth. (*Decima a decimo*) But that neither Christ nor his Apostles have established a tenth part by Name, and consequently have not established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers, the Reasons before recited, which the Priest himself hath given, do plainly enough prove. For besides the great and prompt devotion of Christians in those dayes, our Lord Jesus (he sayes) might expect that the joyful Message of his Gospel should be so thankfully received, that those to whom it was sent should do as

much freely to the gratifying his Messengers, as the servile Jews did by the compulsion of a positive Law.

So then it seems our Lord Jesus did not think fit to *compel Christians* by a positive Law to pay Tythes, but left the gratifying his Messengers to that freedom, which he foresaw his Grace would open their hearts to: for to maintain Christ's Ministers by the compulsion of a positive Law, was (as the Priest rightly observes) suitable to the servile state of the Jews, which Christians, who are compared to Sons, ought not to be subjected to, but left to the exercise of a voluntary Charity, which is more agreeable to the freedom and ingenuity of Sons. Therefore he says, *Since such times were coming, our Lord might probably on purpose decline determining the proportion too expressly.* In all which he hath notab'y argued against himself, and sufficiently proved that the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministry ought to be by free gift, voluntary Charity, uncompelled; that the compulsion of positive Law in this case, is a badge of Jewish servility, not agreeable to the Christian State, which stands in and acts from the freedom and ingenuity of Sons, and that therefore our Lord Jesus and his Apostles did not make any new Law for Tythes, did not make any new determination of a tenth part by name, and that our Lord might probably on purpose decline determining the proportion too expressly. But what now is become of his first Assertion, That our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers? Did Christ establish Tythes, and yet on purpose decline determining the proportion expressly? Is not Tythe or a tenth part an express determination of the proportion? What manifest contradiction has this over-hasty man run himself into!

into! Again, if (as he sayes, pag. 68.) There was no need for Jesus to make *any new Law* for Tythes. If our Lord and his Apostles did not make a *new determination* of a tenth part by name, pag. 69. If our Lord might probably on purpose decline *determining the proportion too expressely*, that *Christians* might have the opportunity of a *voluntary Charity*, pag. 70. If he expected they to whom his Gospel was sent, should do as much *freely* to the gratifying his Messengers, as the servile *Jews* did by the compulsion of a positive Law. And if this *free, gratuitous and voluntary Charity* was more agreeable to the *freedom and ingenuity* of Sons, which *Christians* are compared to, then the *servile compulsion* of a positive Law. And if positive Laws were likely to be made when the decays of Piety and Charity did require them, pag. 71. which could not be in the Apostles dayes, when the *devotion of Christians* was so great, that they gave (as the Priest sayes) *more then a tenth* freely, and bestowed on the Apostles *more* then they were in a condition to receive, pag. 69. I say, if all this may serve to prove that our Lord Jesus and his Apostles left the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers to the *free and voluntary Charity* of *Christians*, fore-seeing that his Gospel would *open their Hearts* thereto, pag. 70. and therefore made no positive Law to *compel* them to the *Jewish servility* of paying Tythes, what then becomes of those *positive Laws* he speaks of, pag. 62. which he sayes do *fairly intimate*, that Tythes were to be the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers, when the Church was settled? Is there any thing in this but contradiction and confusion?

He has yet one Reason more why Tythes are not mentioned in the New-Testament to be the Maintenance

tenance of the Gospel-Ministers, and that is, That *the State of the Church in those dayes was such, that Believers, though they were willing, could not have opportunity to pay Tythes regularly; nor could the Gospel-Ministers receive them,* pag. 71.

Had he assigned this for a general Reason, why Tythes should not be paid at *all* under the Gospel, he had said something to the purpose. But in restraining his Reason to the State of the Church in those dayes *only*, he falls short. Besides, how knows he that Believers then were *willing* to have paid, and Gospel Ministers to have received Tythes, had opportunity served? I believe the contrary, and have many Reasons inducing me thereunto; but since he affirms it, let him prove it. However, if Tythes (as he dreams) were to be the Maintenance of the Gospel-Ministers, when the Church was settled, the want of opportunity for the paying and receiving them regularly at that instant, could be no good Reason why they were wholly passed over in silence, and no mention made of them to that purpose in all the New-Testament, unless he would suppose that all that was mentioned in the New-Testament had Relation to the then present State of the Church, and nothing to the future. But if some things relating to the future State of the Church are mentioned in the New-Testament, then surely so might Tythes have been also, had they been intended for a Gospel Ministry's Maintenance, when the Church was settled.

He adds, That *as it was no prejudice to the Jewish Priests, that there was little or no Tythes paid, during their Fore-Fathers wandering in the Wilderness; no more is it to us, that they were not paid regularly in the Times of Persecution,* pag. 71.

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That could be no prejudice to the *Jewish Priests*, because Tythes were not due to them, or required to be paid, till their wandering in the Wilderness was over, and they settled in the Land of *Canaan*; and an express command there was for the payment of Tythes to them when they were so settled. But these Priests can produce no Command for the payment of Tythes to them either *before* the times of Persecution, *in* those times, nor *after* them. It is not then a non-payment of Tythes regularly in the times of Persecution that prejudices these Priests: but that which prejudices their Claim is, That *Tythes were never due to them at all*; they have no Command, nor ever had, to claim Tythes by.

Yet he says, *Our Lord Jesus and the Apostles said so much in the New-Testament, that the Primitive Christians understood them to intend Tythes for the Gospel-Maintenance*, pag. 71.

How knows he this, seeing the Scripture is silent of it? Had the *Primitive Christians* understood Tythes to be intended by Christ for the Maintenance of his Ministers, no doubt they would have paid them: for they knew full well that Saying of our Lord, *He that knows his Masters Will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes*. Their non-payment of Tythes, therefore is a sufficient Argument that they did *not* understand Tythes to be appointed by Christ for the Maintenance of his Ministers.

He adds, *That they* (to wit our Lord Jesus and the Apostles) *said enough to shew, that the Ancient Divine Right to the tenth part should be continued*.

I wish he had quoted his Text for this, that I might have known whence he had it: for I have read the
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New-Testament more then once, and yet I Solemnly profess, I never read this there.

But sayes he, pag. 72. *It was neither necessary, nor convenient they should speak more plainly in this matter: This being sufficient to establish the Divine Right of Tythes under the Gospel, &c.*

This! Which? What means he here by *This*? Did the *not mentioning* Tythes at all in the New-Testament for a Gospel Maintenance, *establish* (thinks he) the Divine Right of Tythes under the Gospel? Or did our Lord and his Apostles *not* making a new Determination of the tenth part by name, do this? Or did he *purposely declining* to determine the proportion too exprelly? Or what else may we suppose his [*This*] can relate to, which may be thought sufficient to establish the Divine Right of Tythes under the Gospel. Certainly either he is very *Dark*, or I am very *Dull*: for in good earnest, I do not understand, what to refer his Particle [*This*] unto. But whatever it is, I perceive he would have it sufficient, not only to *establish a Divine Right of Tythes under the Gospel*, but also, to teach *what Tythes being Originally due to God, and by Christ assigned to the Gospel-Ministers, are now due to them*, jure divino, pag. 72.

This is much to the same purpose, as if he should have said that Tythes *being due*, jure divino, *are due*, jure divino. If ever Popery should prevail here, and this man turn Fryar, 'tis fit he should be of the *Mendicant* Order, he is so ready at *begging*. Two Questions has he *very confidently* begged in these two Lines. First, *That Tythes are Originally due to God*, which that they are as Tythes, as a tenth part distinct from the other nine, or more peculiarly, then the rest,

I have before more then once denied and disproved. Secondly, *That Christ hath assigned Tythes to the Gospel-Ministers.* Hath he so? and yet Tythes not mentioned in the Gospel or Epistles to be the very part, p. 67. Tythes not mentioned in the New-Testament, by name, *ibid.* That methinks is strange. What! an Assignment pleaded, wherein the thing pretended to be assigned, is not so much as named, nor the certain quantity described! Who ever heard of such an Assignment before? But how doth it appear there is such an assignment? for we have hitherto but his bare word for it. Before, when he spake of the *Levitical Priest-hood's* Right to Tythes (of which no Body doubted) he was very forward to produce an express assignment, and a Text withal to attest it. But now, when he speaks of the Gospel-Ministers Right to Tythes, (which needs the clearest proof, and plainest demonstration) his assignment and evidence are both to seek. Is this to shew that our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have *sufficiently established* Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel-Ministers? Is this to shew that Tythes *may be proved* out of the New-Testament to be due, *jure divino*? pag. 61. Is this to prove the Divine Right of Tythes *sufficiently established* under the Gospel, (pag. 72.) to say that Tythes *being originally due* to God, and *by Christ assigned* to the Gospel-Ministers, are now due to them, *jure divino*? Can any one doubt but that if Tythes were *indeed* assigned to the Ministers of the Gospel, they were then unquestionably due to them *jure divino*? Or can it be imagined, that I or any man else would *grant* the first of these, and *deny* the latter? Was the Question whether, *If Christ had assigned Tythes to the Gospel-Ministers, Tythes would*

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thereby have been due to them? Or was it not, Whether Christ had indeed assigned Tythes to the Gospel-Ministers or no? This belonged to him to prove; and does he think to carry it without proof, by a sly supposing it? He deceives himself. He says of me, pag. 2. I write to please an illiterate Self; and I may gull the unlearned Quakers into a Belief, &c. But I wonder what learned Self he wrote to please, and what sort of Readers he hoped to meet with, or what scantling of Understanding (as his phrase is) he suited his Discourse to, when he said, Tythes being Originally due to God, and by Christ assigned to the Gospel-Ministers, are now due to them, jure divino! Did he hope to persuade his Reader by begging instead of proving, and by taking that for granted which is indeed the main Question in Controversie, and which requires the most evident Demonstration? He might perhaps by this means gull some hasty heedless Reader; but men of Sense and Understanding are not satisfied with such put-off's. Fair Words may please Fools, but Wise men look for fair Proofs. Would he think I dealt fairly with him, if I should say, that he being a Deceiver is not a Minister of Christ? The Conclusion is true, if it be drawn from a true Proposition. It is clear enough, that he is not a Minister of Christ, if he be a Deceiver; but whether he be a Deceiver or no, is the Question, on the proof of which, the Truth of the Conclusion depends. Now if instead of proving this Proposition [That he is a Deceiver] I should take it for granted, and without more ado infer from thence, that he is no Minister of Christ, I should do by him just as he has done by his Reader. He says, Tythes being by Christ assigned to the Gospel-Ministers, are now due to them by

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Divino Right. The Conclusion here is undoubtedly true, if the Proposition be true from which it is drawn. No man in his wits will deny, that Tythes are due to Gospel Ministers, if Christ have assigned Tythes to them: But that's the Question in Controversie; that's the Proposition to be proved, on the proof of which the Truth of the Conclusion depends. Now instead of proving this Proposition [That Christ hath assigned Tythes to the Gospel-Ministers] he takes it for granted, and with no more ado infers from thence, that Tythes are now due to Gospel-Ministers, *jure divino*. Is this like a Disputant? Doth this become a man of his high pretences to Schollarship and Learning? Let the intelligent Reader judge.

§.7. I am now come to the end of his 11th Section, in which he undertook to shew, That our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers; and that they may be proved out of the New-Testament to be due, *jure divino*. Before I proceed to his next Section, I desire the Reader to observe, First, that my Opponent hath *fallen so far short* of proving the establishment of Tythes by Christ and his Apostles for the Maintenance of Gospel-Ministers, that he hath plainly acknowledged Tythes are not so much as named in the New-Testament, pag. 67. (as indeed they are not, with relation to Gospel-Ministers) Secondly, That though he says, there are positive Laws, pag. 62. yet he dares not say, those Laws speak positively, but only that they do fairly intimate that Tythes were to be the Maintenance of the Gospel-Ministers, pag. 63. And to take off the force of his positive Laws more fully, and shew how little positive they were with respect to Tythes,

he himself proves at large, that *Jesus did not make any new Law for Tythes*, pag. 68, 69. and gives among others, this Reason for it, That *Jesus might expect his Messengers should be gratified freely*. Nay, so eager he is to shew why *Jesus* made no new Law for Tythes, that not considering how destructive it would prove to his former talk of *positive Laws*, pag. 62, 63, 64. he fairly argues the *compulsion* of a *positive Law* to be *Jewish and Servile*; and *voluntary charity* to be more agreeable to the *freedom and ingenuity* of *Sons*, which *Christians* are compared to, pag. 70, 71. Thirdly, That those two Texts, those two Plain places, as he calls them, *1 Cor. 9. 14.* and *Gal. 6. 6.* make no mention at all of Tythes or any certain part. They shew that *some Maintenance* is due, they shew to whom it is due, and from whom, but they shew not the quantity of that Maintenance, and Consequently, do not prove Tythes to be it. Besides, he says, pag. 69. *Our Lord and his Apostles did not make a new Determination of the tenth part by name*; and pag. 70. *Our Lord might probably on purpose decline determining the proportion too expressly*, &c. Now Tythes being an *express Determination of the tenth part by name*, it is evident even from his own Positions, that Tythes or a tenth part was not Determined by our Lord and his Apostles, to be the Maintenance of Gospel Ministers. Fourthly, That although my Opponent begins this Section with a great deal of confidence, and seeming Resolution, undertaking to shew, that *our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers*, and that they may be proved out of the *New-Testament to be due, jure divino*. Yet in the Prosecution of this Argument he

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flags and sinks; he is not *positive* and plain, but delivers himself *doubtfully* and *fearfully*. (We may reasonably believe, says he, that *Iesus intended they should remain of Divine Right*, pag. 62.) and in the close of the Section miserably *begs the Question*, that Christ hath assigned Tythes to the Gospel Ministers, and on that *precarious* bottom would set the Divine Right of Tythes. Thus far then we have gone, and find *no firm Foundation* for a Divine Right to Tythes under the Gospel. *No Institution* of them; *No New Determination* of them; *No Establishment* of them; *No Attention* of them in all the New-Testament, as a *Maintenance* for Gospel-Ministers.

Now Reader, in the close of this Section take the Judgment of two eminent Divines (so called) of the Church of England, and see how contrary this Priest is to them. The first is *Fulk* in *Q. Elizabeth's* time, The other *Willet* in *K. James* his time. *Fulk* on *Heb.* 7. S. 4. having shewed that *the payment of Tythes, as it was a Ceremonial duty, is abrogated with other ceremonies by the death of Christ*, and that *any other sufficient Stipend*, whether it be *more or less* than a tenth part, may be appointed as well as Tythes, adds, 'But that there is any Sacrificing Priest-hood, to whom it (namely Tythes) is due in the New Testament, the old payment of Tythes doth not prove. Neither did Christ himself our high Priest, ever make claim unto them: nor his Apostles the Ministers of the Church, but only to a sufficient living by the Gospel, to be allowed of their temporal Goods, to whom they ministred spiritual Goods, 1 Cor. 9. 34. Gal. 6. 6. Thus he, by which we may see he was far enough from thinking what this Priest affirms, viz. That Christ and his Apostles have sufficiently established

established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers, and that they may be proved out of the New Testament to be due *jure divino*, and that Christ hath assigned Tythes to the Gospel Ministers, &c. seeing he sayes plainly both that the *old Ceremonial* payment of them is *abrogated*, and *no new claim* made either by Christ or his Apostles to Tythes, but only to a sufficient living by the Gospel, and that too to be allowed of *their* temporal Goods, to whom *they* ministered spiritual Goods. And he quotes the very same Texts to prove the *Apostles did not claim Tythes*, but only a sufficient Maintenance, which this Priest has brought to prove, that that Maintenance ought to be Tythes, namely, 1 Cor. 9. 14. Gal. 6. 6.

Willet in his *Synopsis of Popery*, fifth general Controversie, pag. 315. repeating a Canon of the Council of Orleans, thus, 'As it is in the will of the giver 'to give what pleases him, so if he find him stubborn 'and froward which receiveth it, it is in his power to 'revoke the gift; sayes thereupon, 'We see then 'that the Word of God hath laid *no such necessity* upon Tythes, for then this Council would not have 'permitted such Liberty. And a little after, setting down the fifteenth Article of the *Bohemians* against Tythes, he adds, 'Therefore Tythes are not necessary due by the Word of God. And a few lines lower, 'This (sayes he) may further appear by the practice 'of other Churches, that the payment of Tythes '(though of all other most fit) is not imposed as a necessary Law. Then instancing several Churches other wayes maintained, he adds, 'I alledge not 'the practice of these Churches, as allowing the same '(for I prefer the condition of those Churches, which 'yet do enjoy the ancient provision of the Ministry 'by

by Tythes) but only to shew, that the custom of Tything is not imposed by any necessity. And speaking of Melchizedec's Priest-hood, he sayes, 'Wherefore seeing Melchizedec's Priest-hood only resteth in Christ, and is not translated to any other, and that there is now no Sacrifice left but Spiritual, of Praise and Thanksgiving, Heb. 13. 15. it follows that by reason of any such external Priest-hood or Sacrifice, Tythes are not now due unto the Church, neither in any such regard ought to be challenged. Again, pag. 316. 'If there were any such Priest-hood, and Tythes in that Right did appertain to the Church; it is most like that our Saviour Christ and his Apostles would have challenged them: But there is no one precept in the New Testament concerning paying of Tythes, but only for a sufficient Maintenance for the Ministers of the Gospel. Judge now, Reader, whether this man thought (as the Priest does) That our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers; That Christ hath assigned Tythes to the Gospel Ministers; and that they may be proved out of the New Testament to be due *jure divino*. But leaving these Testimonies to the Reader's censure, I proceed now to examine his Right to Tythes by Donation, and voluntary Dedication, which in his next Section he makes way for, but does not directly enter upon, being diverted by a passage or two in my Book, which it seems lay in his way.

S. 8. First he falls with great anger upon me; for saying in pag. 287. of my Book, called, *Truth Prevailing, Though Christ deny Tythes, yet if men will grant shew,*

them, it will serve the Priests turn. This he calls a most malicious Inference, pag. 72.

But who sees not the Truth of it? Care they (I speak of the generality of them) how they come by them, so they can get them? Regard they whether they have them from God or Man? If some among them do, yet that this Priest doth not, no man that indifferently reads his Book, can doubt. But he thinks to pinch me closer upon this point; *I know*, sayes he to his dear Brother, *you never said nor thought that Christ denyed Tythes, and since the Quaker affirms, that Christ doth deny them, let him produce the place of Scripture where Christ doth deny Tythes to be given or granted to Gospel Ministers, or else he is a manifest Slanderer of Christ in this Suggestion*, pag. 73.

I should not have thought this passage worth Transcribing, but to detect his weakness, and shew him how severely he jerks himself, while he thinks to lash me. If I do not produce the place of Scripture where Christ doth deny Tythes to be given to Gospel Ministers, he Brands me for a manifest Slanderer of Christ. He himself sayes, *Our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers*, pag. 61. yet produces no place of Scripture where our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have sufficiently established Tythes for the Maintenance of the Gospel Ministers, but on the contrary confesses, *Tythes are not mentioned in the Gospel or Epistles to be the very part*, pag. 67. and that *Tythes are not mentioned in the New Testament by name*, *ibid.* Nor only so, but affirms *Our Lord and his Apostles did not make a new determination of the tenth part by name*, pag. 69. and that *Our Lord*
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might probably on purpose decline determining the proportion too expressly, pag. 70. Now after all this, he that can so freely stigmatize me for a manifest Slanderer of Christ, what will he think fit to call himself? what badge will himself vouchsafe to wear? He sayes, Christ hath assigned Tythes to the Gospel Ministers, pag. 72. but himself hath not assigned any place of Scripture for the proof thereof. Shall I take the liberty to say by Retortion, Let him produce the place of Scripture where Christ hath assigned Tythes to the Gospel-Administers, or else he is a manifest Slanderer of Christ in this suggestion?

The next occasion he takes to fall upon me, is for taking King Ethelwolf's for the oldest Charter. And here (according to his usual Incivility) he liberally bestows upon me the liveries of folly and falshood. You did (sayes he to his Brother, pag. 73.) prove this voluntary Dedication (with respect to this Nation) by King Ethelwolf's Charter. Not because that was the first or oldest Donation of Tythes, as T. E. foolishly and falsely suggests, pag. 299.

To the same purpose, pag. 74. And because the Quaker dreading all higher antiquity, and omitting all inquiry into preceding Church History, doth cunningly suppose Tythes no older amongst Christians than this Charter, &c.

This is his charge; how justly grounded will appear by comparing it with that part of my Book, out of which he seems to draw it. My words are these, pag. 299. If he had any Charter or settlement of Tythes of Older Date then that of Ethelwolf (which was about the Year 853.) he should have produced it, and probably so he would. However, since he did not, I have no reason to think he has any elder. Where

now is my *folly*, where my *falsehood* in this? Was I *foolish* in thinking he would have produced an *older* Charter if he could, when his business was to clear the Donation from all suspicion of *Papery*, and his interest led him, in order thereto, to produce the *most antient* Charter he could find? Or was I *false* in saying, I had no reason to think he had any *older* Charters, since he, whose main concern it was, did not bring forth an *older*? Or was it an argument I dreaded all *higher Antiquity*, because I only refuted the *highest Antiquity* he brought, and did not make it my business to seek out for him an *higher Antiquity* then he could find for himself? Belong'd it to me to search into preceding Church--History to help him to a *more authentick* Charter? What *Weak*, what *Childish*, what *Trifling* work is this! Let him not lay his Brother's *Weakness* at my Door; but let him take his Brother to Task, and teach him to manage his Cause *more warily* hereafter.

CHAP IV.

HE now proposes a Method, in which he promises to proceed in his following Discourse. *First*, he says, *He will look back into the Ages before K. Ethelwolf, and shew by what Authority and presidents he made this Donation.* Secondly, *He will consider the Donation it self, and the State of those Times in which it was made.* Thirdly. *He will note how it hath been confirmed since.* And then, Fourthly, *Wipe off T. E's particular blot thrown upon this sacred Maintenance,* pag. 74.

In this Method I intend to follow him, with what brevity I can, not insisting on every particular which might be spoken to in this part of his Discourse; because the *human Right* necessarily depending on the *D vine*, and the *Divine Right* hitherto remaining altogether *unproved*, what can be urged in Defence of the *Human Right* will have the *less weight*, and need the *less Answer*.

S. 1. He begins with the Apostles Times, and says, pag. 75. *The Apostles having given a general Rule for the Faithful to Communicate unto their Teachers in all good things, the Primitive Christians did alwayes make liberal Oblations to their Pastors, not only of Houses and Lands, as we read in holy Scriptures, but also of many and other things, which being Collected every Lord's-Day, was delivered to the Bishop, saith Justin Martyr.*

Should I now take the liberty to deal by him, as

He in his 10th Section (pag. 50.) dealt by me, I might here help him to as foul a contradiction, as he *did there make* for me. I did but grant my Adversaries Position, that a Maintenance in general to the Ministers of the Gospel is—established by Divine Authority, pag. 284. and after said, What this Maintenance is, is expressly set down by Christ himself, pag. 286. He thrusts the word [*Only*] into my Grant, and reports me to say, Divine Authority had *only* established a Maintenance in general, and thereupon infers, if he have established it *only* in general, then hath he not expressed the particulars, not sticking at a *down-right forgery*, that he might render me contradictory to my self. Now if I would be so *unworthy and dishonest* as to *imitate him* herein, how strange a contradiction might here be made by adding the word *only* to his general Rule, and making him say here, The Apostles had given *only* a general Rule for the Faithful to Communicate, &c. whereas he had said expressly but a little before, The Apostles had established Tythes (which is a *particular quantity*) for the Maintenance of the Gospel-Ministers, pag. 61. But his *unfair* dealing by me shall not, I hope, make me forget how to behave my self towards him. Nor would I in this place have mentioned this (having noted it before) but to set more clearly before his Eye the *Crimson dye of his own Crime*. But leaving this, let us enquire what Truth there is in his Allegation. Upon this general Rule of the Apostle, he says, The Primitive Christians did alwayes make liberal Oblations to their Pastors, not only of Houses and Lands, as we read in holy Scripture, but also of Money and other things.

In what part of holy Scripture did he ever read that the *Christians* gave *Houses and Lands* to their Pastors? That Text had been worth quoting. *St. Luke* indeed, in his History of the *Acts of the Apostles*, doth mention some that sold their *Houses and Lands*, and brought the prices thereof, and laid them down at the Apostles Feet. But he cannot be supposed to refer to this for two Reasons. 1. Because he makes this Oblation of Houses and Lands by the *Christians* to their Pastors, to be the effect of that general Rule given by the Apostle to the Faithful to Communicate unto their Teachers in all good things, mentioned in the Epistle to the *Galatians*, whereas this selling of Possessions, and living in a Community, was not only long before that Epistle was written, but sometime also before he that writ it was himself converted to the *Christian Faith*; and therefore could not be done in *Observance* of that general Rule. 2. Because in that History of the *Apostles Acts*, *St. Luke* doth not say, that any made Oblations of *Houses and Lands*; but the clean contrary, viz. that as many as were Possessors of Lands or Houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles feet, *Acts 4. 34.* to the end. So that here was not an Offering of *Houses and Lands*, but of Money, which the Priest mentions besides, as distinct from the Oblations of Houses and Lands, and as leaning upon another Authority: for he refers the Oblation of *Houses and Lands* to the proof of holy Scripture; but the Oblation of Money and other things to the Testimony of *Justin Martyr*. The Apostles (he sayes) having given a general Rule for the Faithful to communicate unto their Teachers in all

all good things, the Primitive *Christians* did alwayes make liberal Oblations to their Pastors, *not only* of Houses and Lands as we read in holy Scripture, but also of Money and other things; which being Collected every Lords Day was delivered to the Bishop, saith *Justin Martyr*. Here its plain he makes the Oblations of *Houses and Lands* distinct from that of *Money and other things*. The former, he sayes, we read in holy Scripture, the latter he tells us *Justin Martyr* saith. If he has read in holy Scripture this Oblation of *Houses and Lands*, I desire he would direct to the place, that I may read it also. But if he no where reads this in holy Scripture, but adds this amplification as a *Flourish* to his Discourse, he is the more to be blamed in this, and the less to be credited in the rest. How lean a Case doth he advocate, that needs the help of such sorry shifts!

Besides, he abuses his Reader in his application as well as in his allegation; for he intimates as if those liberal Oblations had been made by the Primitive *Christians* to their Pastors for their proper use and Maintenance; whereas it is evident in holy Scripture that they who sold their Possessions, and laid the prices at the Apostles feet, did deposit that money in a common Stock or Treasury, for the Maintenance of all such as were gathered into that Community; out of which Stock Distribution was made unto every man according as he had need, Acts 4.35. So that those Oblations were not made as a peculiar Maintenance for the Apostles or Pastors, but for the common Maintenance of all the Faithful, as well hearers as teachers, in that place. And when afterwards the inconvenience of that Way appearing, they came to make Weekly and Monethly Contributions, the Money

so collected was not *appropriated* to the use of the Apostles, Pastors or Teachers, but both intended for, and imployed to the Relief of the *poor Saints in general*, as may be seen in divers places of Scripture, particularly in 1 Cor. 16. where concerning the collection for the Saints, the Apostle advises, that upon the first day of the week, every one should lay by him in store, as God had prospered him, Promising withal, that when he came to them, whomsoever they by their Letters should approve, he would send to carry this Gift of theirs to *Jerusalem*; yea, and to go himself with it, if need require. And in his second Epistle to the same Church, Chap. 9. he reminds them of this Charitable Work, which in general terms, he calls a *Ministring to the Saints*; and though he exhorts them to liberality and bounty, yet so far is he from prescribing any certain quantity, that he leaves all to this absolute liberty, *Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give*, Vers. 7. and in the 9th Vers. alluding to the words of the Psalmist, he plainly shews this charitable contribution was for the *Relief of the Poor*; *He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the Poor, &c.* And that these contributions were for the *Poor*, he speaks expressly, *Rom. 15. 25, 26. But now I go unto Jerusalem, to Minister unto the Saints; for it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain Contribution for the poor Saints which are at Jerusalem.* It was not therefore fairly done of the Priest to persuade his Reader, that these weekly Collections made by the *Christians* for the Relief of their *Poor Brethren*, were Oblations or Offerings to their Pastors and Teachers for their *peculiar* use, as he seems to do: Which yet if they had been, it would not

in any measure have proved Tythes, *since no certain quantity is exprest, much less a tenth; nor any forced Maintenance, they being altogether free and voluntary.*

§. 2. But he is willing to hasten from Scripture-evidence, finding nothing there that may serve his purpose; therefore he sayes, pag. 75. *Not to expaliate into the whole Maintenance of the Christian Bishops and Priests in the first Ages, he will come to enquire whether they had nothing in that Maintenance Answering to Tythes; yea, Whether they had not Tythes given them by a voluntary Devotion.*

For this he offers the Testimony of Irenaeus, thus, pag. 76. *We ought to offer to God the first Fruits of his Creatures, as Moses saith, Thou shalt not appear before the Lord empty: for not all kind of Oblations are abrogated; there were Olations among them, and there are Oblations among us,*

And a little after, thus, *As the Jews gave their tenths, so the Christians gave all they had freely and cheerfully to the Lords uses, not giving less than they, as having a greater hope.*

In the first of these places no mention at all is made of Tythes, but of first Fruits, and that with respect to the Law of Moses, not binding to Christians. In the latter it is evident the Christians did not give Tythes, or any thing answering Tythes: for the words are exprest, they gave *all they had* freely and cheerfully to the Lords uses. So that neither of these places serve his end.

But because he here (and else-where in Ancient Writers) reads the word *first fruits*, he would persuade his Reader that first Fruits and Tythes are

all one, the same thing under divers Names; and that the very first Christians dedicated their first Fruits of all the Earth's productions to God, pag. 77.

were this true, that the *very first Christians* dedicated their first Fruits of all the Earths productions to God, methinks some mention of it should have been in holy Scripture. But neither *any hint at all* do I there find that they did so, nor any exhortation to them, in any of the Epistles so to do. Since therefore no proof of this can be drawn from Scripture, and that *Irenaeus* and others that writ after him, speak of the times in which they lived, I conclude the Priest was somewhat mistaken in fathering this dedication of first Fruits upon the *very first Christians*.

Then for his other conceit, That first Fruits and Tythes signifie the same thing, the evidence he offers are, *The Apostolical Canons, which* (he sayes, pag. 77.) *were the Decrees of divers Christian Synods made in the times of Persecution, and of great Authority in the Christian Church,*

But doubtless were he not at a *very low Ebb*, he would never have mentioned the *Apostolical Canons* (as they are called) which though to credit his Cause, he pretends to have been of *great authority* in the *Christian Church*, yet he must not be the man he would willingly pass for in point of Knowledge and Reading, if he be now to learn that many learned and knowing Men have long since exploded & rejected them, as *Suppositions* and false. *Perkins* against *Coccius*, in his *Problem* of the Church of Rome, pag. 7. sayes, *The Book of the Canons of the Apostles is said to be Apocryphal*, and quotes *Isidore* affirming the same. The first that mentioned them, he sayes, was *Epiphanius* (who wrote about the Year 380.)

and in the sixth Council of *Constantinople* they were condemned. *Selden* also in his *History of Tythes*, c. 4. pag. 43. calls them plainly *counterfeit Canons*; and in his *Review* on that Chapter, shews more at large that they are so.

§. 3. The Priest quotes here a Sentence out of *Origen*, wherein first Fruits are mentioned, but not a word of *Tythes*; yet in his application of it, pag. 79. he makes *Origen* conclude from hence, that the Law of *Tythes* and first Fruits ought to stand in force among *Christians*; but therein he wrongs *Origen*, whose words are, *Hæc diximus asserentes modatum de primitijs frugum vel pecorum debere etiam secundum literam stare*, i. e. *These things we have said, affirming that the Commandment concerning the first Fruits of Fruits and of Cattel ought to stand even according to the Letter*. These are *Origen's* words, into which the Priest (for his own end) hath slyly thrust the word [*Tythes*] and made him say the Law of *Tythes* and first Fruits ought to stand. What credit is to be given to such a Man!

Nor deals he much better with *Cyprian* whom he quotes next, after this manner, *To him* (says he, pag. 79.) *we may add St. Cyprian, who lived about forty years after, who commending the Nobleness of the first Christians, blames those, who did not give the Tythes out of their Inheritance, which* (says the Priest) *Cyprian would not have done, but that he believed Christ intended Tythes for the Maintenance of a Gospel Ministry*.

He that shall fairly consult the place, will easily see that the Priest hath quite missed *Cyprian's* meaning: for he doth not blame them for not giving *Tythes*;

Tythes; but comparing the Oblations of the Primitive *Christians*, with those of the time wherein he lived, he shews the decay of Devotion to be such, that they did not then give so much as the tenth part of what the first *Christians* gave. His words, as I find them in *Selden's Review*, c. 4. are, *Domas tunc et funulos renundabant, et thesauros sibi in calo reponebant, distribuenda in usus indigentium pretia Apostolis offerebant. At nunc patrimonio nec decimas damus; et cum vendere jubeat Dominus, emimus potius et augemus*, i.e. Then they sold Houses and Farms, and laying up Treasures for themselves in Heaven, they offered the Prices to the Apostles, to be distributed for the uses of the Poor. But now we do not give so much as the Tenths of our Patrimony; and whereas the Lord commandeth to sell, we rather buy and increase. Whence it is plain, *Cyprian* doth not either require Tythes, or blame them that did not give Tythes. But uses the word *Decimas* rhetorically to perswade the *Christians* of his time to greater Liberality and Charity, by the example of the first *Christians*, to whose free bounty, what these gave would not (if compar'd) be so much as a tenth part. And thus *Selden*, in the place fore-quoted understood him. But no more reason is there to suppose *Cyprian* did here blame the *Christians* for not giving Tythes out of their Patrimones, then there would be to imagine he blamed them for increasing their Estates by purchase, which the *Christian* Religion doth in no wise prohibit *Christians* by just and lawful means to do. And for that Book it self of *Cyprians*, de *Unitate Ecclesie*, out of which the Priest makes this quotation for Tythes, although it be not wholly rejected, yet is it suspected to have been corrupted in more places then one. *Perkins* against Cog-

cias sayes expressly of it, *Cypriano liber de unitate Ecclesie corruptus est ad stabilisandum Primatum Petri*, Problem. pag. 14. i. e. *Cyprians Book of the Unity of the Church is corrupted to establish the Primacy of Peter*; of which he gives divers instances.

The Priest goes on, To this (sayes he, of Cyprian) we may add the Testimony of that antient Book which bears the Name of *Clements Constitutions*. What would not he stick to add, how adulterate soever, that might seem to add some fresh colour to his decayed and dying Cause. These *Constitutions* which bear the Name of *Clement*, are less Authentick (if less can be) then those fore-mentioned *Canons* which are called *Apostolical*. Perkins in his *Problem* against *Coccius*, pag. 8. proves from *Eusebius*, *Ruffinus* and others, that There are many things feigned under the Name of *Clement Romanus*; of which having given divers instances, he adds, The eight Books also of *Apostolical Constitutions*, written by the same *Clement*, deserve no greater credit. And for *Selden's* Opinion of them, take it in his own words, For *Constitutions* of the Church; if you could believe those supposed to be made by the *Apostles*, and to be Collected by *Pope Clement* the first, you might be sure both of payment in the *Apostles* times, as also of an express Opinion as antient for the right of *Tithes*. — But no man that willingly and most grossly deceives not himself, can believe that this *Constitution*, or divers others there, are of any time near the Age of the *Apostles*, but many hundred Years after. The little worth, and less Truth, of the whole Volume is enough discovered by divers of the learned: and it was long since branded for a Counterfeit in an *Oecumenical Council*, *Synod. 6. in Trullo*. Thus he, in his *History of Tythes*, c. 4. pag. 42. and much more

more to the same purpose, in his Review of that Chapter, but this I take to be sufficient to detect the *falseness* of those Constitutions, and my Opponents *weakness* in urging them.

His next Author is *Ambrose*, out of whose Sermons 33. and 34. he takes two quotations. The first thus, *It is not sufficient for us to bear the Name of Christians, if we do not the works of Christians; now the Lord Commands us to pay our Tythes yearly of all our Fruits and Cattel*, pag. 80.

The Particle [*now*] in this quotation is not in *Ambrose*, but added by the Priest. The other quotation is long, but to the same purpose, and that which seems most material in it is the latter clause, that of all the Substance which God gives a man, he hath reserved the tenth part to himself, and therefore it is not lawful for a man to retain it.

Here he says, The Lord Commands us to pay Tythes yearly, and that he hath reserved the tenth of all to himself; but the Text he offers in proof thereof, he fetches from the *Levitical Law*, which neither is obliging to *Christians*, nor do the Priests themselves claim by it; nay, they renounce it, as may be seen both in the *Conference*, pag. 133. and in the *Right of Tythes*, pag. 46. What avail these Testimonies then to their Cause, which are drawn from that Law which *they themselves disclaim*; were it never so undoubted that the quotations themselves were genuine; which yet there is very great cause to question. For what likelihood is there that *Ambrose*, or any other of those Ancient Writers, could so far forget himself, as from a particular Precept given to the People of the *Jews* to infer, that God hath Commanded *Christians* to pay Tythes yearly, &c?

But

But that the Writings of those Fathers (as they are called) have been corrupted in general, men conversant in History are not ignorant; and in particular *Ambrose* his Sermons are by *Parkins* accounted *Spurious*, or *Counterfeit*. *Problem.*, page 20.

Next to *Ambrose* he brings *Epiphanius*, pag. 81. saying, *The Scripture exhorteth the People that out of their just Labours they should give to the Priests for their Maintenance, First Fruits, Oblations, and other things.*

To this a twofold Answer is to be given. 1. That here is no mention of *Tythes*; and though the Priest, for want of better proof, would fain have first fruits understood for *Tythes*, yet so contrary is it to all reason, that no man of Judgment can be in danger to be so misled. 2. When he saith, the Scripture exhorteth the People to give the Priests First Fruits for their Maintenance, since we are certain no Scripture of the New-Testament doth so exhort, he must necessarily be understood to speak this with relation to the *Levitical Law*, which as it was designed for, and given to, so it did particularly concern the *Jewish Nation*, not the *Christians*. And that the Payment of *Tythes* were not in use in *Epiphanius* his time, nor accounted necessary, *Selden* proves from *Epiphanius* his own words (in *Heres.* 50.) The whole Passage, as it lies in *Selden's History of Tythes*, *Review.* c. 4. pag. 461. take as followeth; "When he (*viz.* "*Epiphanius*) tells us (*sayes Selden*) of the *Tessu-resdecarita*, or those which thought the holy Easter must be kept on the 14th Moon, according to the Law given to the Jews for their Passover, and that because they apprehended that the keeping it
"otherwise

"otherwise was subject to the course of the Law; he
 "sayes, that πάντα ἔχουσιν ὡς ἡ Ἐκκλησία, that
 "is, they do all things, or agree generally with the
 "Church, saving that they were too much herein
 "addicted to the Jewish Custom. And in his Argu-
 "ment against them, he shews, that the Course hath
 "not reference only to the Passover, but also to Cir-
 "cumcision to Tythes (περὶ δεκτικώσεως) to
 "Offerings. Wherefore (as he goes on) if they
 "escape one curse, by keeping their *Easter* ac-
 "cording to the Law of the Passover, they thrust
 "themselves into many other. For (saith he) they
 "shall find them also accursed that are not Circum-
 "cised, and them cursed that pay not Tythes, and
 "them cursed that Offer not at Jerusalem. Let
 "any man now (sayes Selden) consider if this Bishop,
 "that was least unacquainted with the Customs of
 "the Christian-Church, understood not clearly that
 "no necessary or known use of payment was among
 "Christians in his time. of Tythes, no more then of
 "Circumcision, or Offering at Jerusalem. Doth
 "he not plainly reckon it as a thing not only not in
 "Christian use, but even equals it with what was
 "certainly abrogated? Is not his Objection shortly
 "thus? Why do you not observe Circumcision and
 "Tything, and Offerings also at Jerusalem, which
 "are all subject to the like Curse? And because some
 "kind of Offerings indeed were in use among Chri-
 "stians, therefore in the Objection he providently
 "ties them to Jerusalem. But of Tything he speaks
 "as generally as of Circumcision. Thus far Selden
 "of Epiphanius. By which the Reader may judge,
 "Whether Christians paid Tythes in Epiphanius his
 "time, or whether Epiphanius accounted the Payment of
 Tythes

Tythes a *Christian* duty, who so plainly equals Tythes with Circumcision and Jewish Offerings, which are most certainly abrogated.

To *Euphianus* the Priest joynes *Chrysostom*; whom he reports to speak after this manner; *It is lawful and fitting for Christians to pay Tythes, and that Melchizedec was our Tutor in this matter*, page 81.

Doth this sound at all like *Chrysostom*? Is it likely he would say *Melchizedec* was our Tutor in paying Tythes? Did *Melchizedec* then pay Tythes? To whom I wonder? Or did he teach that Tythes are to be paid? Where I pray? That Golden-mouthed Doctor (as his name imports) understood the Text and himself better then to have let fall such an expression. But his Writings have run the same fate with others of those earlier times, being in many places partly through inadvertency, partly through design, corrupted. And *Perkins* out of *Sixtus Senensis* the Library-keeper, reckons above a hundred homilies that bear the name of *Chrysostom*, which yet are reputed *Spurious*. Problem, pag. 24. &c. And *Selden*, in his History of Tythes, C. 5. pag. 56. giving the Opinions of the Fathers of that Age, sayes *Chrysostom*, perswading even Labourers and Artificers to give bountifully their Offerings to the Church for holy uses, according to the Apostolical Ordinance in the Churches of *Corinth* and *Galatia*; brings the Jewish liberality in the payment of their Tents for Example (beneath which he would not have *Christians* determin their Charity) adding, that he speaks these things not as commanding or forbidding that they should give more, yet as thinking it fit that they should not give less then a tenth part. Whence

it is plain that *Tythes* were not yet generally paid nor held due, but the Ministers & the Poor were alike maintained by the free Gifts and Voluntary Oblations of the People, which through the coldness of Devotion, falling short of answering the necessary ends, as formerly, gave occasion to these men to excite their Charity, and provoke them to more liberality by the Example of the *Jews*, who paid the tenth of their increase. Hence it is, that in some of their Writings the word [Decimæ] sometimes occurs. And from their frequent Inculcation of this, as a Provocation to the *Christians* to equal at least, if not exceed, in charity and bounty the *Jews*, an Opinion about this time, ignorance and Superstition Co-operating thereto, began in some places to enter the Church, That *Tythes* were due. But then they were claimed and received in the name of the Poor, and the claim derived from the *Mosaical Law*, as *Selden* proves at large, C. 5. But for the first four hundred years after Christ *Selden* is positive. No use of *Tythes* occurs till about the end of this four hundred years, are his words, C. 4. pag. 35. And again, Till towards the end of the first four hundred years, no payment of them can be proved to have been in use, *ibid.*

The Priest's next quotation is of *Hierom*, whom he makes to say, That as a Priest or Levite, he himself lived upon *Tythes and Oblations*, pag. 81.

In this he deals not well with his Reader: for he gives not *Hierom's* own words fairly, but taking a piece only, represents his sense far otherwise than it is. *Hierom's* words are these, *Si ego pars Domini sum, et fanticulus hereditatis ejus, nec accipio partem inter ceteras tribus, sed QUASI Levita et Sacerdos vivo de decimis, et altari serviens altaris oblatione*

sustenter, habens victum et vestitum, his contentus ero, arandum crucemundus sequar. i.e. If I am the Lords part, and a cord of his Inheritance, and receive no share amongst the rest of the Tribes, but live LIKE AS a Levite and a Priest of the Tyber, and serving at the Altar am sustained by the Offering of the Altar, having Food and Rayment, with those will I be content, and naked follow the naked Cross. Its plain that Hierom here alludes to the Jewish Priests and their Maintenance, and therefore uses the word Tyber as suiting his comparison of a Levite. But it doth no more follow from hence that Hierom really lived upon Tyber, then it doth that he was really a Levite, of a certain Tribe, and neither had nor might have any Patrimonial Estate amongst his Brethren; all which might with like reason be inf'r'd from these words, by him that would take them literally & strictly, not comparatively and with allusion. And it may be observed, that though in the first part of his Sentence, pursuing his Simile of a Levite having no part among the other Tribes, he mentions Tyber which was the Levites Maintenance, yet in the latter part, he hath a plain reference to the words of the Apostle Paul, 1 Tim. 6. 8. *Having Food and Rayment, let us therewith be content.* Another quotation he gives out of Hierom upon Matth. 22. where he sayes, *Hierom call Tyber the things that be Gods.*

But that Homily upon Matthew is rejected by Perkins in pag. 23. of his Problem, and ranked amongst several other Works, which he sayes, by the common judgment of all men are falsely ascribed to Hierom.

His next Author is Augustin, who, he sayes, pag. 82. intimates it was no new Custom nor Opinion to pay Tyber as Gods due.

His words as he cites them are, *For our fore-Fathers therefore abounded in all plenty, because they gave God his Tythe, and Cæsar his Tribute.*

That Tythes were not paid in the Apostles times, is both evident from Scripture, and granted by the Priest: That Tythes were not paid in the first two Hundred Years after Christ, may be fairly Collected from *Tertullian*, who speaking of the *Christian* Monthly Contributions in his time, sayes, *Modicam unusquisq; stipem mensuam die, velcum velit, et si modo velit, & si modo possit, apponit: Nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert.* i. e. Every one layes down a small piece of Money on the Monthly day, or when he will, and if so be he be willing, and if so be he be able: For no man is compelled; but bestows freely, *Apol. c. 39.* Then for the next fifty Years, those words of *Cyprian* (cited but misapplied by the Priest) if the place be not depraved) shew that Tythes were not then paid. For he noting the coldness of their Charity then, compared with the liberality of the first *Christians*, sayes, *They then sold Houses and Lands, and brought the Prices to the Apostles to be disposed for the use of the Poor: but now we do not give so much as the Tenth;* which plainly shews that Tenth or Tythes were not paid in his time.

And about the Year 380. What *Epiphanius* writes of the *Tessaresdecatica*, cited but now out of *Selden*, puts it out of doubt that Tythes were not paid in his time, at least in the *Greek Eastern Church*. And if Tythes were not paid in *Epiphanius* his time, certainly the Custom of paying them, and Opinion of their being due (if any such Custom or Opinion had been general) in *Augustin's* time (who was Born before *Epiphanius* died) must needs be somewhat new. But if

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Andrey Willet's judgment be of any force with the Priest, he is very plain and positive as to this Case. In *Augustin's* time (sayes he) it was no general Law nor Custom in the Church, that Tythes should be paid, *Synop. Papism.* 5. gen. Controv. pag. 314. And yet there is ground to suppose, that in *Augustin's* time, in some places, and at some times, some Persons did give Tythes; but not that there was any general, settled or constant payment of them.

He adds another quotation from *Augustin's* Sermon de Tempore, 219. thus, Tythes are required as due Debt, and he that will not give them invades another man's right — Whatsoever art sustaineth thee, it is Gods: and he requireth Tythes out of whatsoever thou livest by.

He gives us more of him, but this the most material, and sayes, The whole Sermon is most worthy to be read — being an evident proof of the Antients Opinion that Tythes were of divine Right.

Whether that Sermon were *Augustin's* or no, is a great Question. *Selden* (a curious searcher into antiquity) susp:cts it, his words of it are, About Harvest he made it, if it be his; for it hath been doubted whether it be his or no. And in the Margin he sayes, The very words of this Sermon are in that counterfeit Treatise falsely attributed to St. *Augustin*, and inscribed De Rectitudine Catholica conversationis, History of Tythes, c. 5. pag. 54. Which Treatise *Perkins* places amongst those Writings of his, which by the common judgment of all men are reputed spurious or counterfeit. But be it true or false, the Priest hath not given his quotation out of it fairly; but hath omitted those Texts, which shew whence he derived the claim to Tythes, namely from *Malachy* 3. and other Texts
cf

of the Old Testament relating to Tythes and first Fruits among the Jews, but not obliging Christians, yea, disclaimed by this very Priest, pag. 46. And hath also left out several passages, which shew that Tythes were then claimed not for the Priests, but the Poor. *Decima Tributa sunt egentium Animarum: redde ergo Tributa Pauperibus.* i. e. Tythes are the Tributes of needy Souls: therefore pay the Poor their Tributes. And in that very place from which the Priest gives us these words [Tythes are required as due debt, and he that will not give them invades another man's right] and there leaves off with a——it follows thus, *Et quanti pauperes in locis ubi ipse habitat, illo decimas non dante; fame mortui fuerint, tantorum homicidiorum reus ante tribunal eterni Judicis apparebit, quia Domino Pauperibus delegatum suis usus reservavit.* i. e. And look how many Poor, in the places where he lives, shall perish through Hunger, by reason of his not giving Tythes, of so many Murders shall he be found guilty before the Tribunal of the eternal Judge, because he hath kept to his own use that which was appointed by the Lord for the Poor. From these passages, it is manifest both whence the Opinion of the Right of Tythes, then entering the Church, was taken, (viz. the Levitical Law) and to whom they were then supposed to be due, viz. the Poor. And he might also (had it suited his interest) have added another passage in the same place, which gives a taste of the state of those times (if the Sermon be allowed genuin) in point of Doctrine. The words are these, *Qui ergo sibi aut premium comparare, aut peccatorum desiderat indulgentiam promereri, reddat Decimas.* i. e. He therefore that desires either to purchase a reward to himself, or to merit Pardon of his Sins, let him pay

pay Tythe. By which the Reader may observe, how far the *Mystery of Iniquity* had by that time wrought, and to what pass the State of *Christianity* was then come, when Tythes began to be preacht up, and paid.

The Priest saye: he could further prove the Opinion of the Ancients, that Tythes were of divine right, by many more instances. But (saith he) *I will end these Testimonies of single Eminent Fathers, with that of Prosper of Aquitain, who speaking to the Clergy of his Dayes, saith, We do willingly receive the daily Oblations and Tythes of the Faithful, and shall we lay aside the care of the Flock? pag. 83.*

That Tythes by the private devotion of some began to be given in *Augustin's* time, is already noted; and that such Gifts were more frequent in *Prosper's* time (which was about fifty Years after) is not unlike'y. Nor need we question, but the Clergy then did willingly (as he sayes) receive them, especially if we consider how much even in those times, they were departed from the purity and soundness of the Gospel. Of which occasion will offer to speak at large hereafter. At present therefore take only a touch out of *Prosper* himself in his Book, *De promissionibus et prædictionibus Dei. Orationibus sanctorum* (sayes he) *me expiari ob omnia peccata posse confido.* i. e. *I firmly believe that by the Prayers of the Saints, I may be purged from all Sin.*

But this saying of *Prosper*, That the Priests did willingly receive what the People offered, although it may prove that Tythes were sometimes given; yet it cannot prove any general or constant payment of Tythes.

I have now gone through the Testimonies he hath brought,

brought of which some are reputed *false and counterfeit*, as the Apostolical Canons, Clements Constitutions, and the Sermons attributed to *Ambrose*. Some suspected, as that of *Augustin De tempore*. Some not fairly cited, as *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and *Hierom*. Some misapplied, as *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, and *Epiphanius*. Some speak of Tythes by way of comparison only, and with allusion to the Jewish State. Some mention Tythes by way of provocation to stir up the People to greater Charity and Liberality. Some about four hundred Years after Christ, Preach up Tythes to be due, but to the Poor; and enforce the Claim from the *Mosaical Law*, and other Writings of the Old Testament. But none of them, (I except those *Spurious Constitutions and Canons*) say, That Christ Appointed, Established, Confirmed Tythes, or that the Apostles either injoynd or approved the payment of them, or that they were at all paid in the first Ages of Christianity. So that hitherto we have found no Divine Right to Tythes under the Gospel, unless any will so far deceive themselves as to acknowledge that for a Divine Right now in force which depended on the *Levitical Law*, and by its abrogation ceased.

§. 4. At the close of his Testimonies, the Priest says, *Now I hope the Quaker will not say all these were Papists; or that the Church was Popish as early as Irenæus and Origen: and if not, then he must recant his false Assertion, that Tythes came in with Popery,* pag. 84.

That which in my former Book, I said of Tythes having their institution from Popery, was with relation to that *Charter of Eschelwold*, which the Priest grounded

grounded their Dedication on, and to the *Definition of Popery* which he then gave, of which more hereafter. However, I see no necessity either to affirm, the Church was *Popish* as early as *Irenaus* and *Origen*, or to recant what I have said in my former Book concerning the institution of Tythes. For he hath not proved, and I deny, that Tythes were instituted, required or paid in the times of *Irenaus* or *Origen*, or well-nigh two hundred Years after. But of the times in and about which Tythes began to be thought due, and as so paid (which *Selden* is positive, was not till about the end of the fourth Century, and the beginning of the fifth) and of the State of the Church then, and some-what earlier also, not to speak my own Sense, I will give the Reader a short View, and submit it to his judgment.

About the Year of Christ two hundred (as early as *Origen*) *Prayers, Offerings and Sacrifices for the Dead* began to be in use in the Church. *Tertullian*, who lived in that time, mentions these things in his Book *De Corona Militis*, and says, *They sprang from Tradition*.

As early also was the Opinion of *Purgatory* received in the Church, and believed. Both *Tertullian* and *Origen* held it, as *Perkins* confesses, *Problem* page 175.

Much about the same time crept in the Opinion of the *Intercession of Saints* departed this life, from which sprang the Custom of *Praying to Saints*. And though for some time this was disputed amongst the Learned of those times, yet towards the latter end of the fourth Century (much about the same time that Tythes began to be thought due) this Custom of *Praying to Saints* grew in use in the Church. And

Perkins

Perkins acknowledges, that the *Antients*, especially after the year four hundred, did not only sin, but were guilty of *Sacrilege*; for they sometimes place (sayes he) their Hope, Faith and Confidence in the Saints; of which he gives divers instances, page 93.

Reliques began to be had in veneration, and to be carried up and down, and flocked after about the Year three hundred, *idem.* p. 81.

The going on *Pilgrimage* came in fashion about the Year three hundred and twenty, and prevailed so fast, that about the end of that Century, it was made a part of the Worship of God, *idem.* pag. 119.

The use of *Chrisme* was instituted by Pope *Sylvester*, about the Year 330.

Extream Unction was Decreed by Pope *Innocent* the first, in the Year 402.

Monkish Life began about the Year 260. *idem.* pag. 226.

The *Celibate*, or *single Life of Priests*, began to be Preacht up, by or before the Year 300. And about the Year 380. it was commanded by the public judgment of the Church, and a Vow of perpetual chastity declared necessary, and enjoined, *idem.* pag. 192.

By these few instances the Reader may give a guess at the State of the Church in those dayes, wherein Tythes began to get up. How much worse it grew afterwards in the following ages, when Tythes came to be settled and established by Laws, I shall have further occasion anon to shew. In the mean time I proceed to examine the Authorities the Priest urges from the Decrees of Councils.

S. S. As an Introduction to his *Councilary Testimonies*, he gives his Reader a Note, pag. 84. *First*, (sayes he) *Let it be noted, That though it be certain Tythes were paid from the earliest dayes of Christianity; yet it was not for a long time directly enjoyned by any human Law, either Ecclesiastical or Civil: which shews the first Christians believed, they were obliged to pay them by the Law of God, pag. 84*

This is a Note worth the noting. He sayes, It is certain Tythes were paid from the earliest dayes of Christianity. The earliest dayes of Christianity! Why did he not say, pag. 67. *One Reason why Tythes are not mentioned in the New Testament by name is, To avoid all occasion of Scandal to the Jews, whose Priests were then in Possession of them? Would the Jews have been offended at the mention of Tythes in the New Testament, which they were not like to see; and would they not have been offended at seeing Tythes paid by the Christians to their Ministers? Did he not there say, Many things were suffered a while to run in their old channel, till the whole Jewish Polity was Destroyed? And will he now make Tythes to be turned out of their old Channel, and to run in a new one from the earliest dayes of Christianity, before the whole Jewish Polity was Destroyed? Did he not there say, It would have been used as a prejudice to the young beginnings of the Gospel, if the Preachers had presently claimed the Maintenance, which others were legally instated in? And will he here say, The Christians did pay to their Preachers the Maintenance which others were legally instated in, and that from the earliest dayes of Christianity? Did he not say, pag. 71. *The State of the Church in the Apostles dayes**

dayes was such, that Believers, though they were willing, could not have opportunity to pay Tythes regularly; nor could the Gospel-Minist'rs receive them? And will he here say, Tythes were paid from the earliest dayes of Christianity? And that this is certain too? Certainly this deserves to be [*nigro carbone notatum*] Noted with a black Cole. He had forgot perhaps, that his Brother Priest (whom he defends) had said in his Conference, pag. 157. *I confess the Apostles had not the Tythes in their dayes — the Levites themselves were in Possession of them, which they kept, during the continuance of their Nation and Temple. Besides, you ought to consider, that Tythes, or any other fixed Maintenance, was utterly inconsistent with their unfixed State of Life; being to Preach the Gospel in all Nations, they became an improper Maintenance for them; and besides, you are to consider, that the Apostles needed them not, for as they had their Gifts, so their Maintenance by a Miraculous Providence.*

Here one of the Priests sayes, Tythes, or any other Maintenance, was improper for the Apostles, and utterly inconsistent with their State; That the Apostles neither needed Tythes, nor had Tythes, nor could have had them if they would, because the Levites Possess and kept Tythes, during the continuance of their Nation and Temple, which was not utterly Destroyed till about thirty seven Years after Christ's Death. The other Priest sayes, *It is certain Tythes were paid from the earliest dayes of Christianity.* Is not this pretty? How justly might I here report what he most unjustly threw at me, pag. 59. *One of these must be false, for indeed there is a manifest*

contradiction. Let them lay their heads together again and see if they can reconcile it.

But it seems however, this *early* payment of Tythes was not for a long time directly enjoyned; which was seasonably noted by him to excuse himself from giving some *early* constitution either Ecclesiastical or Civil for the so *early* payment of them. But this *Non-Injunction*, he sayes, shews *The first Christians believed they were obliged to pay them by the Law of God.*

He's very much out. For, *First*, That the first *Christians* paid Tythes at all, is not only denyed, but *learnedly* disproved, and Tythes proved not only improper for, but utterly inconsistent with the Apostolical State, by *his own* dear Brother the other Priest in his Conference, pag. 57. And *Secondly*, If Tythes had been as *certainly paid* in the next Ages to the Apostles, as it is *certain* they were *not paid* in the Apostles Time, yet would not such a practice any more have proved that the *Christians* believed they were obliged to pay them *by the Law of God*, then it would have proved the *Christians* in *Tertullian's* time, who Prayed and Sacrificed for the Dead, without the *Injunction* of any Human Law, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, for a long time, did believe they were obliged so to Pray and so to Sacrifice, *by the Law of God*; which that they were far enough from Believing *Tertullian* sufficiently shews, when speaking of those things, he sayes, "If thou demandest the Laws of these and other such like Disciplines, thou wilt find none in the Scriptures. Thou wilt find Tradition pretended for the Author, Custom for the Confirmer, and Faith for the Observer: lib de coron. mil.

He adds, *ibid.* That according to S. Augustine's Rule, viz. [*That such things as were Universally observed, and owed not their beginning to any Council, were to be thought to have been ordained by the Apostles*] Tythes and first Fruits must at least be of Apostolical institution.

This is grounded on a Supposition (at which he is very notable) that Tythes and first Fruits were *Universally* paid. I deny it, both as to *time* and *place*. Let him first prove that, and then he may expect a further Answer. Now to his Councils.

§. 6. In his first *Regiment* of Councils, that which leads the *Van*, pag. 85. is the Counterfeit Canons falsely ascribed to the Apostles; of which enough hath been said before to detect them, and shame him for urging them. Next comes up the Council of *Gangra* held about the Year 324. in the seventh and eighth Canons of which, Tythes (he sayes) are called [*καρποδοσίας Εκκλησιαστικαίς*] which he Englishes (but ill) *Ecclesiastical Tribute of Fruits*. But bearing with the Translation, let him shew (if he can) that Tythes are mentioned, by name, in any Canon of that Council. If not, Why abuses he his Reader in saying, *Tythes are there* called Ecclesiastical Tribute of Fruits? A like falshood he imposes on his Reader in his next quotation of the Council of *Antioch*, held in the Year 341. (as he sayes, but in the Year 345. sayes *Burdegalenfis*) in the twenty fourth and twenty fifth Canons, of which he reads (he sayes) *The profits of the Church, or the Fruits of the Fields*.

But what is that to the proof of Tythes? Could the Church have no Profits or Fruits of the Fields but it must needs be Tythes? If Tythes had been named

In that Council, why did he not shew that? But if they were not named there, why does he play upon his Reader, and endeavour to perswade him they were? Is he not ashamed to say, he finds many Antient Councils suppose Tythes to have been paid, and ordering how Tythes should be distributed by the Bishops, and yet cannot shew out of those antient Councils (as he calls them) that Tythes were so much as *once named* in them?

To these Councils (for credit sake, and to increase the number) he adds the *Canonical Epistle* (as he calls it) of St. Cyril of Alexandria to Domnus, where, he says, he finds, *mention of Ecclesiastical Revenues.*

What then, is nothing an Ecclesiastical Revenue but Tythes? If he had found that Revenue there called Tythes, he had then found something to his purpose; but as it is, it helps him not at all. See now what his great boast of *MANY Antient Councils*, which *suppose Tythes to have been paid*, &c. is come to. The first has long since been branded for a *Counterfeit*, the two next have *not a word of Tythes*, the fourth and last is *not the Decree of a Council*, but the *Epistle of a single Person*, and that says *nothing of Tythes* neither. And yet, such is the immodest Confidence of the man, that he doth not stick to say, pag. 86. *In the fore-cited places it appears, that Tythes and First Fruits were given to the Church long before the Year of Christ 324.* So indeed I think they had need to have been, if they had been paid (as he boldly says, 'tis certain they were) *from the earliest days of Christianity*, pag. 84. But as that is very fairly disproved, by his own dear Brother, in his *Friendly Conference*, pag. 157. So this remains yet to be proved by himself, or any other, *that*

that like himself, has so much confidence and so little credit, as to undertake it.

But how comes it we have no more of these *antient* Councils produced? Why brought he not forth the Council of *Cæsaria* (holden about the Year 200.) which *Burdgalensis* calls the first Council after the Apostles times? why pass he over the several Councils of *Carthage*, held about the Years 236. and 253? Why slipt he those holden at *Antioch* about the Year 270? Why mentioned he not the Council of *Sinuessa* in *Campania*, nor the first of *Ancyra*, held about the Year 290? Why took he no notice of the Council holden at (*Cirtes*) in *Namidia*, about the Year 304? Of the second of *Ancyra*, about the Year 309? Or of the *Neo-Cæsarian*, about the Year 313? And (to pass by the *Roman* and *Elibertine* Councils under *Sylvester*) how came he to omit that great and universal Council (as some call it) holden at *Nice*, about the Year 320? Were some of these Councils rejected? so were some of them he urged. Was there no mention of *Tythes* in these? no more was there in those he alledged. And doth it not look strangely that so many Councils, held in several parts of the World, should not have a word of *Tythes*; and yet this man should talk of *Tythes* being certainly paid from the earliest dayes of Christianity? Pray hear what *Selden* sayes upon this subject, chap. 4. of his History of *Tythes*, pag. 43. speaking of the Opinion of them that would have *Tythes* to be an Ordinance of the Apostles, 'Had it been (sayes he) 'the Apostles Ordinance, or the use of the Church in the 'Primitive times, Origen, Tertullian and Cyprian ' (having such occasion to mention it) could not have ' been so silent of it. And is it likely (adds he) that
' all

all the old Councils from thence, till near six Hundred Years after Christ (which, being authentick beyond exception, have special Canons for the Lands and Goods poss-^d by the Church, the Offerings, Revenues, and such more) could have omitted the name of Tenth, if either such use or Apostolical Law had preceded? They (sayes he) talk of *ἐκκλησιαστικὰ πρῶτα*, the Goods of the Church, *κατακοίτας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς*, or Offerings of first Fruits; but have not a word any where of the tenth part. And (adds he) in those counterfeit Canons also (meaning those called the Apostles Canons) one is indeed of first Fruits (although, touching them by that Name, certainly no Law was made under the Apostles) but no words of Tenth, Thus he.

S. 7. Thus far of those Councils which he supposes suppose Tythes to have been paid. Come we now to those other which, he sayes, directly joyn them, of which the first he gives is, The Decree of a Roman Council in the Year 374. commanding, That Tythes and first Fruits should be paid by the Christians, and they which withheld them should be anathematized, pag. 86.

This is the first of his direct Injunctions for the payment of Tythes; and he had no sooner set down this, but he began to bethink himself, that this Council, if it came to be examined, would scarce stand the tryal, and therefore without more ado, in the very next words he sayes, But there is some question whether this Council be genuine or no; I shall therefore (sayes he) omit this, and all those other Councils which suppose them, but do not enjoyn them, pag. 86.

The Proverb sayes, we may judge of a Man by the Company

Company he keeps. But if we should judge of his Cause, by the Evidences he brings to prove it, what may the Cause be thought to be, when the Witnesses are Counterfeits, Cheats, corrupted and false? What shameful work is this?

But now he comes to one which he calls a *positive Ecclesiastical Law*, and the first too; and yet that was not made till the Year 560. as he sayes, but *Selden* places it in the Year 586. It is the Council of *Matifcon* (a Bishoprick in the Diocess of *Lyons*) which he sayes, pag. 87. speaks thus, *The divine Laws taking care of the Priests and Ministers of the Churches, for their Inheritance, have enjoined all the People to pay the Tythes of their Fruits to holy places, that being hindred by no labour, they may more duely attend spiritual Ministries, which Laws the whole company of Christians have for a long time kept inviolate.*

Thus far his English differs little from the Latine, as *Selden* has it, saving that where his English is, *That being hindred by no labour*: The Latine adds, *per res illegitimas*, i. e. by *Unlawful things*. But in the latter part of his quotation, which contains the Decree it self, there is no correspondence between the Latine and his English; so great a Liberty of variation doth he take. The Latine in *Selden's* (*History of Tythes*, c. 5. §. 5.) goes on thus, *Unde statumus ut Decimas Ecclesiasticas omnis Populus inferat, quibus Sacerdotes aut in Pauperum usum aut in Captivorum redemptionem erogatis, suis orationibus pacem populo ac Salutem impetrent.* i. e. *Whereupon we ordain that all the People bring in the Ecclesiastical Tythes, which being bestowed either for the use of the Poor, or for the Redemption of Captives, the Priests by their Prayers may obtain Peace and Safety for the*
A a People;

People. Instead of which his English runs thus, *Wherefore we Decree and ordain, That the Antient Custom be observed still among the Faithful, and that all the People bring in the Tythes, which maintain the Worship of God.* Let the Understanding Reader compare now, and see what he can find in this English to Answer that in the Latine [*quibus Sacerdotes, aut in pauperum usum, aut in captivorum redemptionem erogati, suis orationibus pacem populo ac salutem impetrent*] or what in the Latine to Answer this in the English [*That the Antient Custom be observed still among the Faithful; And, That Tythes maintain the Worship of God.*] This is a fault this Priest is too frequently guilty of: he gives not his quotations in the Authors words, but in his own, concealing the Author's, that he may the more safely and undiscerned twist his quotations to his purpose, and thereby lead his Readers judgment Captive Hoodwink. His design here was to prove the *Antiquity* of Tythes in the *Christian Church*, to contenance which, he is not content with what is said in the Decree, *viz. That the Christians have kept these Laws inviolate for a long time*; but adds, *The Antient Custom.* And because the words of the Decree shew what *Service* Tythes were then put to, namely, *the use of the Poor or Redemption of Captives*, he leaves that out, and instead thereof puts in [*which maintain the Worship of God*]. And having thus formed it for his purpose, he thinks now he has got enough to serve his turn. *These words (he says) do fully prove our Assertion of Tythes having been paid from the beginning, Iure divino, pag. 87.*

But he mistakes in this too, and that not a little. This Council falls a great deal too low to prove his Assertion.

Affertion. For how should these, who lived so near the end of the sixth Century, understand the Practice of the first Times, what was done in the beginning, and what was paid in the earliest dayes of *Christianity*, better then they whose lot fell nearer to the first Times by well-nigh the one half? Or what likelihood is there, that if Tythes had been paid from the beginning, from the *earliest* dayes of *Christianity*, no one of those many Councils before remembred, should so much as *once* have mentioned Tythes, especially seeing divers of them speak particularly of the Offerings, Oblations, Revenues and Treasure of the Church? But this Council intimates, that *Tythes had been paid for a long time.*

What then, must that long time be extended to the *very beginning*, to the *earliest dayes* of *Christianity*? No such matter. *Selden* sayes, "That long time they speak of, might have had perhaps beginning from the Doctrine of those two great Fathers St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, about the Year 400. History of Tythes, pag. 48. From which time to this Council, there having passed about one hundred and eighty years, might not improperly be called a *long time.* The common use of speech will justify it. But the Decree mentions *Divine Laws*, from whence the Priest infers *Tythes were paid from the beginning*, jure divino.

But *Selden*, in the place fore-quoted, shews, that the Laws there called Divine, were but the *Mosaical* Laws, which these Priests, both one and 't'other, refuse to claim by, *Friend'y Conference*, pag. 133. *Right of Tythes*, pag. 45. Thus much of the

particular parts of the Decree. Now of the Council, it self, it is observable, that as it was but a *provincial* Council, and so affords no *general* Determination; so (as *Selden* Notes, pag. 58.) "Not so much as any Canon of it is found mentioned, as of "received Authority, in any of the more Antient "Compilers of Synodal Decrees: which he there shews at large. But leaving what hath been said of this to the Readers observation & judgment, I go on to examin his next quotation out of the Council of *Hispalis*, which he Dates in the Year 590. and delivers in these words, *We ordain that all the Fruits and Tythes as well of Cattel as of Fruits, be rightly offered to their severall Churches, by Rich and Poor, according to the saying of the Lord by the Prophet, Bring ye all the Tythes into the Store-House, &c.—For as God hath given us all, so of all he requirerh Tythe of the Profits of the Field; and all Provisions, of Bee's and Honey, Lambs, &c. And he that payes not Tythes of all these, is a Thief to God himself*, pag. 88. His observation on this is, That they all declare Tythes to be *due, jure divino*.

But whence fetcht they their Opinion of the Divine Right of Tythes? Do they not deduce it from the Words of the Prophet, and ground their Decree thereupon? And had not those Words of the Prophet a direct reference to the *Ceremonial Law*? And is not the *Ceremonial Law* ended and *abrogated* by Christ? And do not these Priests *disown any claim* from it? *Friendly Conference*, pag. 133. *Right of Tythes*, pag. 4th. What trifling then is it thus to Argue! Besides, there is great ground to suspect the credit of his quotation. *Selden* Noting the falsehood which some commit, who out of *Juo*, attribu-

ted

ted an exprels Canon for the payment of first Fruits and Tenths, to the provincial Synod of *Sivil*, and giving the words of that Canon, little different from these quoted by the Priest, sayes, The old Manuscript Copy of *Juo* hath it, *ex concilio Spanensi*, and the Printed Book *ex concilio Hispalensi*. Then sticking a little at the word [*Spanensi*] he adds, "What-
 "ever he meant by it, clearly the whole Canon is of
 "much later time, the first words of it also being
 "nothing but the Syllables of one of *Charlemains*
 "Laws, that was not made till 780. years from
 "Christ. He observes also that "*Gratian* warily
 "abstained from using these Canons; and a little after
 "concludes positively, That "among the known and
 "certain Monuments of Truth, till about the end
 "800 years, no Law Pontifical of or Synodal (saving
 "that of *Mascon*) Determins or Commands any
 "thing concerning Tenths, although very many are
 "which, speaking purposely and largely of Church
 "Revenues, Oblations, and such like, could not
 "have been silent of them, if that quantity had been
 "then established for a certain duty. He then
 "shews that the *Canonists* and others in later Ages, com-
 "piling their Decrees, have made those words, by
 "which the Offerings of the *Christians* were expressed,
 "to serve as if they had expressly named Tythes (in
 "which Observation he seems to take this very Priest
 "by the Nose) and concludes thus, "He that reads
 "those old Canons only, as they are so applied, in
 "late Authority, to Tythes, might perhaps soon think
 "that at first they were made specially and by name
 "for them. The matter (*sayes he*) is plainly otherwise.
 "What was ordained in them about Tythes, is out of
 "them in later times (Tythes & Oblations being then
 "supposed

"supposed of equal right) expressly extended also
 "to Tythes. And to this purpose he cites *Frier*
Crab, (in *Prolegom. ad Tom. 1. Concil.*) thus, *Licet*
for san falso tali sint Pontifici, vel certe tali Concilio
per scriptorum incarian ad scripti. i.e. *Although per-*
haps (speaking of such Canons) *they are falsely ascri-*
bed to such a Pope, or to such a Council by the careles-
ness of Writers. Thus far *Selden*, *Hist. Tythes*, c. 5. §. 5.)

And in his sixth Section of the same Chapter, men-
 tioning again the Decree of *Mascon*, which was but
 Provincial, he says, "No Canon as yet was recei-
 "ved in the Church generally, as a binding Law, for
 "payment of any certain quantity; which not only
 "appears (says he) in that we find none such now
 "remaining, but also is confirmed by the Testimony
 "of a great and learned *French* Bishop (in whose
 "Province also *Mascon* was) that could not be igno-
 "rant of the received Law of his time. He lived and
 "wrote very near the end of this four Hundred Years
 "(I think (says he) in the very beginning of the
 "next, which, according to *Selden's* division, must
 "be the Year 900.) And, in a Treatise about the
 "dispensation of Church Revenues, expressly denies,
 "that before his time any Synod or general Doctrine
 "of the Church had determined or ordained any
 "thing touching the quantity that should be given,
 "either for Maintenance or building of Churches.
 He gives the Testimony of this Bishop in his own
 words, thus, "Jam vero de donandis rebus et ordi-
 "nandis Ecclesijs, nihil unquam in Synodis constitu-
 "tum est, nihil a Sanctis Patribus publice prædica-
 "tum. Nulla enim compulit necessitas, servente u-
 "bique religiosa devotione, et amore illustrandi Ec-
 "clesias ultro æstruante, &c. (i.e. But now con-
 "cerning

cerning endowing and ordaining Churches, there has never been any thing decreed in Synods, nor publicly preached by the holy Fathers. For there has not been any necessity for that, religious Devotion being every where warm, and the desire of adorning Churches burning of its own accord. And then adds, "This Author is *Agobard* Bishop of *Lyons* (very learned and of great judgment) and had not so confidently denyed what you see he doth, if any Decree, Canon, or Council, generally received, had before his time commanded the payment or offering of any certain part. And to confirm the Truth of this Bishop's Testimony herein, he adds, that "Neither in the *Codex Ecclesiasticus universalis*, or the *Codex Ecclesiæ Romane*, or *Africane*, or *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, *Cresconius*, or *Isidore's* Collection (all which, in those elder Ages, were as parts of the Body of the Canon Law) is once any mention of the name of Tenth. Thus far *Selden*. By which it may appear that Tythes had not so early a settlement in the Church as the Priest would persuade his Reader.

The Priest seems now to have done for the present with Councils, and betakes himself to the Laws of *Kings* and *Emperors*. To which before I pass, I desire the Reader to take notice to what a nothing his great talk of Councils is come; and that after all his great Brags, he hath produced but one Council that expressly names Tythes, and that but a Provincial one neither, and falling so much short of that Antiquity, that *Antient Date*, the Beginning and earliest days of Christianity, which he so frequently and vauntingly repeats, that it was not much less then 600. years after

after Christ, before it was made, and then too in probability little regarded.

§. 8. Now let us observe the Laws he offers, made by *Kings* and *Emperours* concerning Tythes. The first he instances is of *Constantine the Great*, *Who* (he says, pag. 89.) *being settled in his Empire, in the Lands under his Dominion, out of every City gave a certain Tribute, to be distributed among the Church and Clergy of the Provinces, and confirmed this Donation to stand forever.*

If this be true, yet what relation hath this to Tythes? If *Constantine* gave a *Tribute* out of every City, doth it thence follow that that *Tribute* was *Tythes* or the *Tenth* part of the Revenue of those Cities? Or if that should be supposed, would the Priest thence infer, that the Country People, the Farmers, the Husband-men, who lived not in the Cities, but in the Country-Towns and Villages, were by this Donation obliged to pay the *Tythes* of the *Increase* of the Lands, which they manured and occupied? What need had there been then of such a *Tribute* out of the Cities? This instance of *Constantine's* Donation, if it be allowed to prove any thing, will rather prove that *Tythes* were not then paid, than that they were. But the Truth of the Donation is questioned. *Cusanus* says thus of it, '*Sunt meo iudicio illa de Constantino Apocrypha, i. e. Those things concerning Constantine are in my judgment Apocryphal, that is, obscure and doubtful.*' Many other Authorities *Perkins* produces to prove the Donation of *Constantine* false, *Problem.* pag. 15. But whether it be false or true, it speaks nothing of *Tythes*, and therefore is the less to be regarded.

The

The Priest goes on thus, *It were endless to relate all the Constitutions of pious Emperours either to enlarge the Revenues of the Church, to preserve its Liberties, or to secure the Donations made by others. Let that one Law which is so full for the Divine Right of Tythes, serve instead of many instances,* pag. 89.

I cannot but take notice; how short-winded this Priest is when he comes in earnest to produce his Authorities. He talks big before-hand, and gives great expectation of what he will do, but when he comes to the Point, how mean (Alas!) is his performance in respect of the preparation he makes! What a noise did he make of Councils ere now! Who that heard him would not have almost thought, that *All the Ancient Councils* had been called on purpose to settle Tythes upon the Clergy? And yet after all this *beaving and sweeping*, the great *Mountain* hath brought forth but one *Mouse*, and that a little one too; I mean his high talk and great preparation hath produced at last but one Authentick Council that mentions Tythes (if that one be Authentick) and that but a *Provincial* neither. And now that he is slippt from *Councils* to the *Laws* of Kings and Emperours, he instances out of *Constantine the Great*, of *suspected Credit*, that has no mention of, nor relation to Tythes, and then immediately sayes, *It were endless to relate ALL the Constitutions of Pious Emperours, &c.* as if he had almost wearied himself with relating so many before, whenas indeed this was the first and only one that he had so much as named. And how poorly afterwards doth he come off, when he sayes, *Let that ONE Law which is so full for the Divine Right of Tythes, serve instead of MANY instances!* Can any one doubt (who observes his manner of writing)

that this is only a *Flourish* to hide his *penury*? It had been worth his while (though he had taken a little the more time for it) to have given us some of the *most material* of those MANY Constitutions of Pious Emperours, which he sayes it were ENDLESS to relate; and it is not to be questioned but so he would, could he have found amongst them *All* any that had spoken *but favourable* of Tythes. But since *no more are to be had*, let us look the more intently on this he doth give, and see whether it deserves to serve instead of *Many* instances. He words it thus, pag. 89. *The Tythes by God's Command are separated for the Priests, that they which are of Gods Family may be sustained by his Portion, and therefore they cannot by any human Priviledge be given to Lay-men; lest the Supream Authority should therein prejudice the Divine Commandment.*

I see no reason for his calling this a *Law*, which is rather a *Declaration* by *Doctrine*, then a *Constitution* by *Precept*. If it be a *Law*, he might have done well to have acquainted his Reader *who was the Law-maker*. He neither tells us who was the *Author* of it, nor in *what Age* 'twas made; but sets it down *bare and naked*, as I have here Transcribed it: only in the Margin he hath this reference [*Cod. l. 7. Tit. de prescrip*] But though he *conceals the date* of it, yet that Passage in it [*therefore they cannot by any Human Priviledge be given to Lay-men*] speaks it to be of *much later Birth* then he would willingly have it pass for. However, let the Age and Author of it be as they are, it deserves not the name of a *Law*, much less of *such a Law*, as in the Case of Tythes may serve instead of *many* instances: for it *enjoins* nothing, but only *supposes* Tythes separated for the Priests

Priests by God's Command, and declares they therefore cannot by any Human Privilege be given to Lay-men. This peradventure may some-what concern the *Civil Magistrate* and the *Impropriators*, but not the Case in hand.

In the same place, he sayes, *A parallel Law to this we find in Authenticiis, ti. eod.*

It may be so. But where he found it, there it seems he thought fit to leave it, for he sayes not a word more of it. But going on nearer to King *Ethelwolf's* time, he sayes, *K. Ethelwolf might know how the Religious K. Riccardus had confirmed the Decrees of the first Council of Hispa'is about paying Tythes, Anno. 830. Nor could he be ignorant what Charles the great had done in settling Tythes on the Church about 100. years before K. Ethelwolf's Donation, pag. 90.*

The Story of *Riccardus* I am a stranger to, and like to be for him; for he has not been so fair as to acquaint his Reader whence he took it. That of *Charles the great* was about the year 780. far enough short of his boasted *Antiquity*, and of the earliest dayes of Christianity, falling indeed in a time when the Church was miserably depraved and corrupted, and growing every day worse and worse, as I shall have occasion more particularly to shew when I come to *Ethelwolf's* time. And though the Priest sayes, *This Emperour (who gave Tythes) was so far from Idolatry, that he called a Council to condemn the use of Images, and write against them himself.*

Yet Corruptions enough were there then in the Church, beside the use of Images to prove the Religion he profest to be *Popish*, according to the defini-

nition of Popery given by the other Priest in his *Friendly Conference*, pag. 149. where he sayes, *I cannot give you a more brief and true Account of Popery then this, That it is such Doctrines and Superstitious Practices, which by the Corruption of time have prevailed in the Church of Rome, contrary to the True, Antient, Catholick, and Apostolick Church.* Now that the Doctrine of Purgatory, of the Intercession of Saints deceased, of Monkish life and the Celibate (or unmarried life of Priests) and that the Practice of Praying for the Dead, of Sacrificing for the Dead, of Praying to Saints, of Going Religious-ly on Pilgrimage as a part of Divine Worship, that the use of Chrism and of Exteam Uction, were received in the Church long before this Charles. his time, I have already shewed; That these Doctrines and Practices by the corruption of time have prevailed in the Church of Rome, I have proved before by the unquestionable evidence of Protestant Authors: and whether these Doctrines be true or false, whether these Practices be Superstitious or no, whether or no both the Doctrines and Practices be contrary to the True, Antient, Catholick and Apostolick Church, let the true Protestant judge. If these Doctrines and Practices are not Superstitious, if they have not prevailed by the corruption of time, if they are not contrary to the True, Antient, Catholick and Apostolick Church, then am I under a mistake. But if they are Superstitious, if they have prevailed through the corruption of time, if they are contrary to the True, Antient, Catholick and Apostolick Church, then are they Popish (according to the Priests own definition of Popery) and consequently Tythes, so far as he derives their institution from those who were in the be-

lief and use of these Superstitious Doctrines and Practices, had their institution from Popery. But of this more when I come to Ethelwulf's time.

What hath been said in this place with relation to Charles the Great may opportunely also give a check to the Priest's over-bold Assertion in his following words, when he saith, that *Before the time of King Ethelwulf, Tythes were settled on the Church in most parts of the Christian World, even by Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, as well as Palmarary Donations, &c.* pag. 90.

I call this an over-bold Assertion, because, *First*, I know he herein affirms more by a great deal than he is able to prove; and *Secondly*, If he could make such a general settlement appear, yet would not that acquit Tythes from the blemish of a *Popish* Institution, in as much as I have proved before, even by the Priests own definition of Popery, that Popery had made her encroachments in the Church before the time of Charles the Great.

S. 9. Hitherto he has travelled *Foreign* Countries to seek a Right to Tythes, and has taken much pains to little purpose. Now he begins to look *Homeward*, where I am of Opinion he will speed no better. He had a mind in his way to brand me with ignorance, but he wanted an occasion for it. Where therefore he could not find a way, he resolved (like the *Carthaginian* Captain) to make one. Hereupon he saies, pag. 91. *He perceives all along I date the very Birth of Tythes in the Year 855.* For this suggestion he has not the least colour of reason. For if the Birth of Tythes were dated (as he saies) in that Year, it was not so, but his Brother Prigs that

gave them that date, by fixing on *Ethelwolf's* Charter for the ground of his Claim to Tythes, which was made in that Year. The Argument was *his own*; the Method and order of his Discourse was at *his own choice*. Had he designed an *elder Birth* to Tythes, he might have given them an *elder Date* if he could. But he thought fit to Date his Claim to Tythes from *Ethelwolf's* Donation, which, out of *Spelman*, I shewed was made in the Year 855. and thereupon I said (pag. 299.) *If he had any Charter or Settlement of Tythes of older Date then that of Ethelwolf (which was about the Year 855.) he should have produced it, and probably so he would. However, since he did not, I have no reason to think he has any older.* I took the *oldest* he thought fit to give, and did not take upon my self to Date the Birth of Tythes, but shewed the Reader in what year my Opponent had dated his Claim.

But having liberally bestowed his Brothers ignorance upon me, and thereby got an occasion to insinuate that I am miserably mistaken, he goes about to set forth a *more ancient* date of the Birth of Tythes, then that of *Ethelwolf's* Charter. And first he brings in *Fleta* the Lawyer expounding the word [*Church-esser*] to signify a certain measure of Corn which every one of *Old* gave to the Holy Church, about the time of *St. Martin's Feast*, as well in the time of the Britains as the English; adding, that it was after called first Fruits. From hence he infers, That by this account, there was a kind of Tythes paid by the Britains before the coming of *Austin*.

Pray mark his word [*a kind of Tythes*] he himself it seems for all his usual confidence, would not adventure to call it simply Tythes, but a *kind of Tythes*.

What

What means he by that? Was this certain measure of Corn the tenth part of the Crop? he sayes, Every one of Old gave this certain measure of Corn, but doubtless everyone had not a Crop of Corn growing. But waving this and his other Conceits of the Saxon words *Ciric-seat*, or *Ciric-set* signifying the Tribute of the Church, or the Church Seed; with what else he urges out of *Adalmsbury*, *Spelman* and *Lindenbrogius*, concerning first Fruits of Seed, & Tribute of Corn together with the Law he cites of *K. Ina* commanding the payment of the *Ciric-seat* on the Feast of *St. Martin* under a severe penalty (*all which are nothing to the present purpose*, unless he could prove that this Church-esse and *Ciric-seat* were really and properly Tythes, which I deny) I go on to his next quotation, the Epistle of *Boniface* to *Cuthbert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in which he tells me, *I shall find Tythes by name*. Only by the way, seeing he hath mentioned *K. Ina* for a Patron of Church Revenues, I desire the Reader to take a little notice of the corruption and superstition of that Age and Church in which *K. Ina* lived, and for whose sake he made that Law: "He built (sayes Speed) the Abbey of *Glafensbury*, "and garnished the Chappell thereof with Gold and Silver, and gave rich Ornaments thereto; as Altar, "Chalice, Censer, Candlesticks, Bason and holy Water, "Bucket, Images and Pale for the Altar. He instituted also a certain Yearly payment to the See of Rome, "known afterwards and challenged by the name of Peter "Pence, and casting off at last his Regal Authority, he "went to Rome, where in the habit of a Religious man he "spent the remainder of his Life. By this the Reader may perceive what Religion *K. Ina* was of, who besides his other Superstitions, was a sotter up of Images

in the Church; and declared his Communion with the Church of *Rome*, not only by his Donation to it, but by entering and leading a *Monkish* life in it. And what the Church of *Rome* at that time was, in point of *Idolatry*, is notorious to all that have conversed in the Histories of those times; and observed the great Contentions occasioned about *Images* and *Image-worship* between the Emperors *Philippicus* & *Leo* the third on the one hand, and the Popes *Constantine*, *Gregory* the second, and *Gregory* the third (under one of whose Popedom *Julia* went to *Rome*) on the other hand; the Emperors endeavouring the destruction of *Images*; the Popes with the Clergy as stoutly maintaining and defending them. And under two of these Popes were two Councils called in *Rome* on purpose to establish *Image-worship*. Now to his quotation out of *Boniface*, he says, pag. 92. *If I desire to have the name of Tythes, as well as the thing, among the Antient Saxons, I may find in the Epistle of Boniface to Cuthbert Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Anno. 745. That the English Priests in those dayes were maintained by the taking the daily Oblations and Tythes of the faithful.*

Whitherto he has found neither the thing nor the name among his *Saxon* Evidences, but has given only some ill-grounded Conjectures that *Church-esse* and *Circ-esse* might signify a kind of *Tythes*. And what he has now found in the Epistle of this Arch-Bishop *Boniface*, comes much too late to clear *Tythes* from the blemish of *Popish* Institution. For if he could prove an Institution of *Tythes* in this Nation, a general Dedication of *Tythes* or any positive Law commanding the payment of *Tythes* here, as early as this Epistle of *Boniface*; which yet is far from early in comparison of the earliest dayes of Christianity, yet unless he could

could also wipe away (for covering will not serve) those foul Spots and filthy Stains, those gross *Corruptions* and *Superstitions*, wherewith the Church was at that time, and before, miserably polluted and deformed; all he can say will not acquit Tythes from a *Popish Institution*, even according to the Notion his Brother Priest has given of *Popery*. But though through the blind devotion of that Age, some of the most superstitiously Zealous might not improbably give Tythes, yet hath not he given, or met with any *Law*, *Constitution*, or *Synodal Decree* of that time (of undoubted Credit) injoyning the payment of Tythes. This very *Cuthbert*, to whom the fore-cited Epistle of *Boniface* was written, being then Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, called together the Bishops and Prelates, and held a great Synod near a place called *Clomeshe*, the Decrees of which Synod *John Fox* hath set down particularly, in his *Acts* and *Adornments* of the Church, upon the Year 747. (in which Year that Synod was held) But in all those Decrees there is not the least mention of Tythes: No Constitution yet appears, Civil or Ecclesiastical, for the payment of Tythes. And as for *Boniface* himself, from whose Epistle the Priest would prove the settlement of Tythes in *England* before *Popery*, take but the Character that *Fox* gives of him in the place fore-quoted, and then think as thou canst of him, the Religion and times he lived in. First he taxes him with maintaining *superstitious Orders of lascivious Nuns* and other Religions, and restraining the same from lawful Marriage. Then he adds, "For so we find of him in Stories, that he was a great setter up and upholder of such blind Superstition and all *Popery*. Who being admitted by Pope *Gregory* the second, Arch-Bishop of *Magunce*, and indued

"with full Authority legantine over the *Germans*,
 "builded Monasteries, Canonized Saints, com-
 "manded Relicks to be worshipped, &c. *Item*
 "(sayes he) by the Authority of the said Arch-
 "Bishop *Boniface*, which he received from Pope
 "Zachary, *Childericus* King of *France* was deposed
 "from the right of his Crown, and *Pipinus* betrayer
 "of his Master was confirmed, &c. From this *Bon-*
 "*iface* (adds he) proceeded that detestable Do-
 "ctrine which now standeth Registered in the Popes
 "Decrees, *Dist. 40. Cap. Si papa.* which in a cer-
 "tain Epistle of his is this, That in case the Pope
 "were of most filthy living, and forgetful or negli-
 "gent of himself, and of the whole *Christianity*, in
 "such sort, that he led innumerable Souls with him
 "to Hell, yet ought there no man to rebuke him in
 "so doing, for he hath Power to judge all men, and
 "ought of no man to be judged again. Now Rea-
 "der weigh and consider with thy self what manner of
 "Bishop this *Boniface* was, what a Religion he profest,
 "what times he lived in, and then tell me whether or no
 "Popery had not made her encroachments in the Church,
 "in the time of this Bishop *Boniface*.

Next to the Epistle of *Boniface* before mentioned,
 the Priest offers a Collection made by *Egbert* Arch-Bi-
 "shop of *Tork* in the Year, as he says, 750. of all the Ca-
 "nons that were made in the Councils before his time, and
 "which were in force in England; among which Canons,
 "he sayes, pag. 93. there is frequent mention of Tythes,
 "as particularly in the 4. 5. 99. and 100. The words
 "of the fourth Canon he gives thus, That the People
 "be Instructed in the right manner of Offering them to
 "Gods Church. The words of the fifth Canon he sets
 "down thus, That the Priest shall take them, and set
 "down

down the names of those who gave them. There he stops, omitting the rest of that Canon, which in the Latine thus follows, [*et secundum Autoritatem Canonica coram testibus dividant, et ad ornamentum ecclesia primam elegant partem, secundam autem ad usum pauperum atq; peregrinorum per eorum manus misericorditer cum omni humilitate dispensent, tertiam vero sibi met ipsis Sacerdotes reservent.* i. e. and according to Canonical Authority shall divide them before Witnesses, and shall chuse the first part for the Ornament of the Church; The second part they shall with all humility most mercifully distribute with their own hands to the use of the Poor and of Strangers; but the third part the Priests shall keep for themselves.] I have Transcribed this only to shew the Priest's Craft in concealing it. He would have the benefit of this Canon, he would use the Authority of it to prove his Claim to Tythes; but he would not have the People understand how and to what uses Tythes were appointed by this Canon to be employed. How great a charge are the People now at in maintaining the Poor, and in repairing and adorning those Houses which they call Churches, over and above their Tythes to the Priests, whereas this Canon which the Priest urges for the proof of his Claim to Tythes, commands expressly that the Tythes being divided into three parts, two parts of the three should be bestowed upon those publique uses, and the Priests to have but the one third part that remained. But now, alas! the Priests swallow the whole tithes, the two parts as well as the third; and the People are fain to make New Levies to defray those publique charges, from which by this Canon they were to be freed. But be this spoken by the way only. Now

to the Canons themselves. He sayes, they were collected by Egbert about the Year 750. but by whom and when were they made? Doubtless that had been very material, but he has not a Syllable of it, but delivers it in the gross, for a Collection made by Egbert of all the Canons that were made in the Councils before his time, &c. But by what Art did Egbert collect Canons that were not made till after his death? For that some such are in that Collection which bare his name, Selden gives more then probable reasons. First, he sayes, "The Authority of the Title must undergo a Censure. Then he adds, "Who ever made it, supposed, that Egbert gathered that Law and the rest joyn'd with it out of some former Church-Constitutions, neither doth the name [*Excerptiones*] denote otherwise. But in that Collection some whole Constitutions occur in the same Syllables as they are in the Capitularies of Charles the Great. Of which he instances one, and sayes, "There are some others which could not be known to Egbert that died in the last year of *Pippin*, Father to Charles. How (sayes he) came he then by that? And how may we believe that Egbert was the Author of any part of those Excerptions? Unless you would excuse it with that use of the middle time, which often inserted into one Body and under one name, Laws of different Ages. (But that excuse will not help, since there would still remain the same doubt and ground for jealousy that these Canons about Tythes were made in some of the latter Ages, not in (much less before) that which Egbert lived in) "But admit that (sayes Selden) yet what is [*Secundum canonicam auctoritatem coram testibus dividant?*] The Antientest
"canonica

" *canonica autoritas* (sayes he) for dividing Tythes
 " before Witnesses, is an old Imperial attributed in
 " some Editions to the leaventh year of the Reign of
 " Charles the Great, being King of *France*, in
 " others, to the Empesour *Luther* the first. But
 " refer it to either of them, and it will be divers
 " years later then *Egbert's* death. And (adds he)
 " other mixt Passages there plainly shew, that whose
 " soever the Collection was, much of it was taken
 " out of the Imperial Capitularies, none of which
 " were made in *Egbert's* time. Perhaps (sayes he)
 " the greatnes of *Egbert's* name was the cause why
 " some later Compiler of those Excerptions might
 " so inscribe it, to gain it Authority. And a little
 " lower, he sayes, " The heads of a Synod holden in
 " *Egbert's* time, under King *Ethelbald* and *Cuthbert*
 " Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, are yet extant; but
 " not any express mention is found in them of Tythes,
 " although most of the particulars of Church-Gov-
 " ernment are toucht there. Thus far *Selden* in his
 " History of Tythes, c. 8. §. 1. whose words I have
 " here set down the more at large, that the Reader
 " may see not only his judgment of this Collection,
 " but the Reasons also, on which his judgment was
 " grounded; which I doubt not will satisfie the judi-
 " cious and *disinterested* Reader that neither was that
 " Collection of Canons made by *Egbert*, nor are
 " those Canons themselves of so great Antiquity as the
 " Priestt pretends, and would gladly have them taken
 " to be.

To these fore-mentioned Canons, he adds ano-
 " ther of the Council of *Chalcuth*, which he dates in
 " the Year 787. and gives in these words, *All men*
 " *are strictly charged to give Tythes of all that they Pos-*
 " *sess*

fest, because it is the Proprierty of the Lord God, or the part that specially belongs to him, pag. 93.

Whether this Canon be genuine or no, is somewhat doubtful. Some Objections lie against it, as the making *Renulph*, King of *West-Saxony*, to joyn with *Offa* in calling the Council, which seems not well to agree with *Renulph's* time; and some other variation of Names, which possibly the mistake of Transcribers might occasion. But that which is more material is, that the very Syllables of this Canon are found among some Constitutions made by *Odo Archbishop of Canterbury*, about 150. Years after the Date of this Canon. See *Selden's History of Tythes*, c. 8. §. 8. But not to insist on things doubtful, that which I observe is, that this Council (or Synod rather) of *Chalcuth* was held under two Legates sent from *Rome* by *Pope Hadrian the first*; which plainly shews both that the Popes Primacy and Authority was before that time received and own'd in *England*, that this Council was held in Subjection to him, and that the Church of *England* was then in Communion with the Church of *Rome*. All which is deduceable from that Epistle written by the said Legates to the Pope, in which giving him a particular Account of the Transactions of that Synod, they have these words, "Hæc Decreta, beatissime Papa *Hadriano*, in Concilio publico coram Rege *Ælfwaldo* & Archiepiscopo *Eanbaldo* et Omnibus Episcopis et Abbatibus Regionis seu senatoribus Ducibus et Populo Terræ proposuimus; et illi ut superius fati sumus cum omni devotione mentis juxta possibilitatem virium suarum, adjurante superna clementia, se in omnibus custodire denoverunt, & signo Sanctæ Crucis in vice vestra, in manu nostra confirmaverunt, &c. &c. &c. These

These Decrees, most blessed Father *Hadrian*, WE PROPOSED in the publique Council before *R. Elfwald* and Arch-Bishop *Eanbald* & all the Bishops & Abbots of the Country, as also the Senators, Dukes and People of the Land; and they with all devotion of mind, as we said before, did Solemnly Promise, that by the help of God's Mercy, they would observe them in all things according to their utmost Ability, and they confirmed them in OUR hand in YOUR STEAD with the sign of the Cross, &c. And a little after, acquainting the Pope that the same Decrees were forthwith carried to the Council held the same time under *Offa* for the Western part (for the Legates it seems divided, and went one to *Elfwald* in the North, 'tother to *Offa* in the West) adds, that upon the reading thereof, "Omnes consona voce & alacri animo gratiam referentes Apostolatus vestri admonitionibus, promiserunt, &c. i.e. They all with one voice and cheerful mind, returning thanks for the admonitions of YOUR APOSTLESHIP, did Promise, &c. What the Church of *Rome* at that time was hath been somewhat declared before, and may be more hereafter. But of *Pope Adrian* himself, who sent those Legates hither, and by whose procurement and Authority that Council was held, take a Character from *John Fox* in his Book of the *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, Vol. I. pag. 117. "*Adrian* the first likewise following (sayes he) the steps of his Fore-Fathers the Popes, added and attributed to the veneration of Images more then all the other had done before, writing a Book for the ADORATION and utility proceeding of them, Commanding them to be taken for Lay-mens Kalenders, holding more

“ moreover a Synod at *Rome* against *Felix*, and all o-
 “ thers that spoke against the setting up of such Stocks
 “ and Images. Judge now Reader, whether this
 Council of *Chalcuth* be a fit instance to prove that
 Tythes were settled on the Church before Popery had
 made her *Incroachments* in it, and that Tythes had not
 their institution from Popery, when this very Coun-
 cil was held by Legates sent by the Pope on purpose for
 that end.

§. 10. Having said what he can from Councils and
 Canons, he makes a shew as if he would bring forth
 some temporal Laws also for the settlement of Tythes
 in England before *Ethelwolf's* time. His words are
 these, pag. 94. *If it be inquired what Laws our Princes*
made in this matter: Not to mention all those Charters
which from the first beginning of Christianity, do con-
firm all the Liberties, and all the Revenues of the
Church (among which were Tythes) we will only note,
that Ethelbald King of Mercia, Anno. 794. confirms
to all the Clergy of his Kingdom the Liberty which they
had out of the Woods, the Fruit of the Ground, and the
taking of Fish. And this (being after that Epistle of
the German Boniface, which assured us Tythes were
then enjoyed by the Clergy) must (he sayes) be meant
of Tythes.

In the former part of these words there is a flourish and a falshood. The flourish in these words [*not to mention all the Charters which from the beginning of Christianity, do confirm, &c.*] what else is this but an empty sound of words without matter? The falshood in these words [*Tythes were among the Revenues of the Church from the first beginning of Christianity*] this I tax for a down-right falshood, let him clear it as he can.

ean. Then for the Donation or Confirmation of *Ethelbald*: *It speaks nothing of Tythes*, but discharges the Monasteries and Churches of his Kingdom from publick Taxes, Burdens and Services (some few excepted) and then sayes, *Let the Servants of God* (it speaks generally, not the Priests or Clergy only) *have their own liberty in the Fruits of the Woods and Fields, and in taking Fish, that they need not make presents to the King or to the Princes, unless they do it of their own accord, but being free let them serve God, &c.* Here's no mention of Tythes; and if there had, yet I think the Priest would have been hard bestead to have acquitted them by this Donation from a Popish Institution, or to have proved this Charter made before Popery had made her encroachments in the Church; especially if we consider that Fox in his Book of Martyrs, gives this very Charter as an instance of the Popish blindness of that Age. His words (speaking of them that builded & endowed Churches, Monasteries, Abbies, &c.) are these, "The cause
 "and end of their Deeds and Buildings cannot be ex-
 "cused, being contrary to the Rule of Christ's Go-
 "spel, for so much as they did these things seeking
 "thereby Merits with God, and for remedy of their
 "Souls, and remission of their Sins, as may appear
 "testified in their own Records, whereof one here I
 "thought to set forth for probation of the same. Then he sets down this very Charter of *Ethelbald*, and after adds, "By the Contents hereof may well
 "be understood (as where he saith, *Pro amore ce-*
 "*lestis Petriæ, pro remedio anime, pro liberatione*
 "*anime, et absolutione delictorum, &c. i. e.* For
 "the love of the Heavenly Country, for the remedy
 "of my Soul, for the deliverance of my Soul, and

“pardon of my Sins, &c.) how great the ignorance
 “and blindness of these men was, who lacking no
 “Zeal, only lacked Knowledge to rule it withal:
 “Seeking their Salvation not by Christ only, but by
 “their own deservings and meritorious Deeds. Thus
 far Fox in his *Acts and Monuments* of the Church,
Vol. 1. l. 2. toward the end. From which the Rea-
 der may observe how contrary his Opinion of those
 times was to this Priest, who brings the very same
 Charter for proof that Tythes were settled on the
 Church before Popery had made her encroachments in
 it, which Fox gave as an instance of Popish blindness
 and ignorance. And besides the general corruption of
 that time, The Author of this Charter Ethelbald
 himself was a lewd and vicious person. Spiced in his
 Chronicle, pag. 254. calls him *A most lascivious A-*
dulterer, and the Arch-Bishop of Mentz in an Epistle
 to him, taxes him with wallowing in *Luxury and A-*
dultery with Nuns.

To this Ethelbald, the Priest Joyns K. Offa, who
 he sayes in the Year 793. did give the tenth of all he
 had to the Church.

Why did he not add the occasion of this Gift? Was
 he ashamed of it? so let him then be of the gift too.
 It was a most execrable Murder, aggravated with
 the violation of Hospitality. The Story Fox sets
 down out of *Jornalensis* and *Malmsbury*, to this
 effect; “Ethelbert, King of East Angles came to the
 “Court of Offa with a Princely Train to sue for his
 “Daughter in Marriage, Offa’s Queen suspecting
 “Ethelbert had some other design, perswaded her
 “Husband to kill him: Offa thereupon the next day
 “caused him to be trained into his Palace alone from
 “his Company by one called *Guimbertus*, who took
 “him

"him and bound him, and there struck off his Head,
 "which forth-with he presented to the King and
 "Queen — *Offa* at length understanding the Inno-
 "cence of this King, and the heinous Cruelty of the
 "Fact, gave the tenth part of his Goods to holy
 "Church, and to the Church of *Hereford*, in remem-
 "brance of this *Ethelbert*, he bestowed great Lands
 "—— and afterwards went up to *Rome* for his Pen-
 "nance, where he gave to the Church of *St. Peter*
 "a Penny through every House in his Dominion——
 "and there at length was translated from a King to a
 "Monk, *Martyrol. vol. 1. pag. 117.* Here now we
 see the cause of this Gift was a most barbarous Mur-
 der, and the Gift the price of innocent Blood. Yet
 this Gift of *Offa's* was but particular, the tenth of his
 own Goods, not a general act, nor find we that he
 made any Law to compel others to do the like. But
 the Priest urges that this *Offa* had with all his Clergy
 condemned the adoration of Images, and so was no Idol-
 ater. That he and all his Clergy did condemn the
 adoration of Images, is more I think then the Priest
 can prove; but suppose that, doth it therefore fol-
 low that he was no Idolater? Is nothing then idolatry
 but worshipping of Images? What's the praying to
 Saints? What's the worshipping of Relicks? Will the
 Priest say that *Offa* and all his Clergy had condemned
 this also. Hee'l say perhaps he was no Papist nei-
 ther. What went he up to *Rome* for? What made
 him so observant and bountiful to the Pope? What
 made him before receive the Popes Legates? are not
 these plain Arguments of his communion with the
 Church of *Rome*, in which besides all other Idolatries,
 the adoration of Images was then most zealously main-
 tained?

From *Offa's* Gift he takes a step of about sixty Years to *Ethelwolf's* Charter, finding nothing in the way to countenance Tythes. Now before we enter upon *Ethelwolf's* Charter, I intreat thee Reader to cast thy Eye a little back, and take a short Review of the *authorities* he has urged to prove the settlement of Tythes in England before *Ethelwolf's* time. His first out of *Fleta* has nothing of Tythes. His second of *Ina* has nothing of Tythes. His third of *Boniface* proves not any settlement of Tythes, nor that the Priests were maintained by Tythes; but only that they did receive Tythes of such as did freely offer them. His fourth of *Egbert's* Collection of Canons, is proved by *Selden* not to be Collected by *Egbert*, but by some other of later times. His fifth of a Canon of the Council of *Chalcuth* is by *Selden* upon reasonable grounds suspected to be a Constitution of *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, above a Hundred Years after *Ethelwolf's* time. His sixth of *Ethelbald's* grant speaks nothing at all of Tythes. His seventh and last of *Offa* was not any general settlement, but a particular Gift of the tenth of his own Goods. So that amongst all these there is not any one positive Law, Ecclesiastical or Civil, undoubtedly genuine, and certainly made within the time pretended, that expressly commands the payment of Tythes, or clearly declares that Tythes in those times were generally and constantly paid. Then for the qualifications of the Persons by whom he fains Tythes were settled, one was *A setter up of Images* in the Church; another, *A lascivious Adulterer*; a third, *A treacherous and cruel Murderer*, and all superstitiously devoted to the Idolatrous Church of *Rome*. All which duly considered, what advantage I pray has he got at last? What additional strength

has

has he gained? What *further discovery* has he made? What *antienter evidence* has he found? What *more authentick Charter* has he produced for the settlement of Tythes on the *English Church*, then that of *Ethelwolf*? Where's now his great *boast of Antiquity*, and his *vaunt* of the *early settlement* of Tythes? when after so long a search, and narrow a scruting among all the old Records he could find, he is able at length to shew no Charter for the settlement of Tythes in *England*, of *elder date* then that of *Ethelwolf*, in the Year 855. nor any Conciliary Canon for the payment of any tolerable reputation, save that of *Chalmsch* in the Year 787. (if at least that may be reputed tolerable) which was held and governed by the Legates of Pope *Adrian* (a stout maintainer of Image-worship, and so in the Priest's own Notion an Idolater) sent hither from *Rome* on purpose.

§. 11. Now come we after this far-fetcht compass to K. *Ethelwolf's Charter* at last, which the former Priest had the wit to begin with *at first*, and not trouble himself with a *fruitless* search after what was not to be found, as this wise man has done to little purpose. The occasion of the Donation he tells us, pag. 96. was the *Danish Invasions*, which made K. *Ethelwolf* consult his Clergy and Nobles, by what means they might best avert the anger of God, &c. Whereupon (he says) it was by general consent there determined, *That the Tythes throughout all England should be granted to God and the Church.*

He said in the page next before, *That K. Ethelwolf in this Donation doth rather confirm the right of Tythes, then Originally make them due.* Here he says it was determined that Tythes throughout all *England*

Land should be *granted*, &c. Which of these must stand? Was it a *Grant* or a *Confirmation*? Were Tythes throughout all *England* *granted* before? what need had there then been of a *Grant* now? Were Tythes throughout all *England* *not granted* before? what was there then for *K. Ethelwolf* to *confirm*? This hangs not well together. But I observe his eager desire to *say enough*, causes him sometimes to *say too much*.

I expected now we should have forth-with entred upon the Examination of this Donation. But, whatever the matter is, he interposes another Section, to supply (as it seems) the defects of the Charter. Thus he begins it, pag. 97. *But lest there should be any defect in this Charter we will shew how it hath been confirmed since in all Ages.* Hereupon he takes occasion to mention *Alured* and *Guthrum*, *Edward the Elder*, *Athelston*, *Edmund*, *Edger*, *Cannuc* and *Edward the Confessor*. All which he might very well have spared; the question not being how late Tythes were settled, but how early? for if *Ethelwolf's* Donation be inpuigned as Popish, I think he takes but an indirect course to Vindicate that by instancing others more apparently Popish than itself. Yet as if he had no sense of this he runs on not only to, but through the *Norman Conquest*, as far as the time of the *Reformation*, and out of *Spelman* concludes, *These Grants had been ratified in thirty nine several great Councils and Parliaments before the Reformation.* But of whom I pray did those Councils consist before the Reformation? Were they not the Popish Clergy, the very same (or of the same) that drank the Blood of so many godly Martyrs, and *Decreed Tythes to themselves*?

Here

Here he takes occasion to touch again upon his *Old* string of *Divine Right*, & *Tithes* being Originally due to God, &c. pag. 99. Which because I would not (like him) be found alwayes singing the same Song, I forbear to reply to, referring the Reader to what hath been already said in Answer thereunto in the former part of this Discourse upon his first Period. But there is another Passage in this Section, pag. 99. which I am not willing to pretermitt. Amongst other great things which he speaks of this *Donation*, one is, *That the benefit thereof hath been enjoyed for eight hundred Years by those to whom the Donation was made.* For this I confess I am beholding to him. He has helped me to a notable *Medium*, to prove what sort of Priests this Donation was made to, by assuring me it was made to them, who for so long a time enjoyed the Benefit of it; which is a Character not at all applicable to the present *English* Clergy, nor to any other so aptly as to the *Popish Priests*, who enjoyed the benefit of it by far the longest of any. Though considering the date of the Charter and the time of Reformation (between which scarce full seven hundred Years did intervene) I see not how the *Popish Priests* neither can be said to have enjoyed the benefit of that Donation for eight hundred Years, unless he intend that he and his Brethren are *fundamentally* and in the ground *a part of the same Priesthood* with them, though in some *minuter* Circumstances disagreeing; and so would reckon the benefit of this Donation to have been enjoyed for eight hundred Years *by those and these in common.* But then he should consider, that this infers the Donation to be made to those and these in common, the consequence of which will be, that these and they are *Ministers of*
Christ

Christ a like. But because this Passage seems somewhat *enigmatical*, if I have not fully reacht his sense, I desire he will explain it in his next. Meanwhile I go on to his next Section, in which he notes three general Exceptions that I take at this Charter of *Ethelwolf*, which in so many Sections he intends I perceive to *avoid* rather than Answer.

S. 12. *My first exception*, he sayes, *is in respect of the Author of that Charter*, pag. 289. And here, he sayes, *I affirm K. Ethelwolf was a Papist.*

I not only affirmed, but proved it from History, and gave such *demonstrations* of it as he chose rather to *over-look* then answer. It had become him to have shewed (if he could) that the instances I gave of *Ethelwolf's* being a *Papist*, were either *not true*, or *not conclusive*. But he has not so much as attempted either of these. I shewed from good authority that *Ethelwolf* was bred a *Monk*, took upon him the *Vow* of single Life according to the profession of that Order, was afterwards made *Deacon* and *Bishop* in the then Clergy, but upon the Death of his Father, was in order to the Civil Government, absolved of his Vows by Pope Gregory the fourth, went himself in great Devotion to Rome, confirmed his former grant of *Peter-pence* to the Pope, obliged himself further to the Yearly payments of three Hundred Marks to Rome, whereof two Hundred were appointed by him to buy Oyl to keep all the Lamps burning in St. Peters and St. Pauls Churches at Rome, and the other Hundred Marks was a Yearly present to the Pope, and that he was the Pope's Creature.

All this spoken of *Ethelwolf* particularly, the Priest passes silently over, without the least touch or note; and as one that is ashamed to confess, and afraid to deny,

deny, he puts me off with this sorry shift, pag. 100. If T. E. had known what gives a man the just denomination of a Papist, he would not have discoursed so absurdly.

What a pitiful come off is this! Is this like a Disputant? Why did he not take up the discourse, and lay open the absurdity of it? Would a man of his scantling of understanding and discretion let slip so fair an advantage? Who could have thought it! Well, that discourse however, absurd or not, remains unanswered, and the instances there given to prove *Ethelwolf* a Papist are not disproved, or any way removed by the Priest. He tells us, it is not every one that agrees in some Opinions with the Roman Church, who is a Papist; since then all Christians in the World would be Papists, *ibid.*

But what's this to the purpose? is not this another device to avoid the matter? Are the Instances I gave of *Ethelwolf's* being a Papist common to all Christians as well as Papists? 'Tis true indeed, there are some Tenents common to Papists and all Christians, as that there is a God, that Christ is come, and hath suffered for Mankind, &c. But are those things mentioned before of *Ethelwolf* of the Nature of these? are they received in common by all Christians, as well as by Papists? Let me come a little nearer him. He reckons himself not only a Christian, but a Minister of Christ also; Is what is related before of *Ethelwolf* consistent with his Christianity? If not, why does he thus abuse both his Reader and me, by suggesting that what I there spake of *Ethelwolf* is agreeable to all Christian, as well as Papists. But if what is spoken before of *Ethelwolf* be not agreeable to all Christians, but to Papists only, I hope

it will be sufficient proof that *Eshelwulf* was a *Papist*.

Having said who is not a *Papist*, he now gives us the definition of a *Papist* thus, *He is a Papist who professes himself a Member of the Roman Church, and acknowledges the Popes Supremacy, believing all the Articles of the Roman Church's Faith*, p. 101.

This definition would exclude a great number of profest *Papists* from being *Papists*; for many that have lived and dyed in the profession of that Religion, and in communion with the *Roman Church*, did not believe *all the Articles* of the *Roman Church's Faith*. Most notorious are the *Controversies* which for many Ages have been maintained amongst the Religious Orders of that Church, one sort most hotly and violently impugning the Faith and Opinions of the other, yet all *Papists*. So that to the constituting a *Papist* it is not of absolute necessity that he believes *all the Articles* of the *Roman Church's Faith*. But if he profess himself a *Member* of that Church, and be in communion with it, that's enough to denote him a *Papist*. The other Priest in his *Friendly Conference*, pag. 149. gave his Parishioner a Definition of Popery; his words are these, *I cannot give you a more brief and true account of Popery then this, That it is such Doctrines and superstitious Practices, which by the corruption of time have prevailed in the Church of Rome, contrary to the true, ancient, catholick and apostolick Church*. Now if this be a true account of Popery, and so true an one that he cannot, as he says, give a *more true*; what truer account then can be given of a *Papist* then to say, he is a *Papist* that holds such Doctrines and superstitious Practices, &c.

OF,

Or, he is a Papist that holds Popery: But Popery is such Doctrines and superstitious Practices, which by the Corruption of time have prevailed in the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the true, ancient, catholick and apostolick Church. Therefore he that holds such Doctrines and superstitious Practices, which by the corruption of time have prevailed in the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the true, ancient, catholick and apostolick Church, is a Papist. Now let us measure *Ethelwolf* by the Priests definition of Popery, and see how far *Ethelwolf* will fall short of being a Papist. That *Ethelwolf* held the Doctrine of the *Calibate*, or *single life* of Priests, is clear from his taking upon him the Vow of Single Life when he entred his Monkish Order. He held the Doctrine that the Pope had power to absolve and release him from his Vows, and accordingly received an Absolution from the Pope. He held the practice of burning Lamps continually day and night in the houses they called Churches, and accordingly gave two hundred Marks a year to buy Oyl to feed the Lamps in two of those Churches, and that in *Rome*. Now if these Doctrines and Practices were *superstitious*; if they were such as by the *corruption of time* prevailed in the Church of *Rome*; if they were contrary to the true, ancient, catholick and apostolick Church (which none I think but a Papist will deny) then according to the Priest's Definition *they are Popery*, and consequently *Ethelwolf* in holding them was a Papist.

But the Priest sayes, King *Ethelwolf* did never profess himself a Member of the Roman Church, *ibid.*

Is not this strange! What made him then seek Absolution of his Vows from the Pope? What caused

him to go in such great Devotion to Rome? What moved him to give two hundred Marks a year to maintain the *Lamp-Religion* of the *Roman Church*? What induced him to settle a hundred Marks a year upon the Pope? What led him to re-build the *English School* in *Rome*, founded at first by *Issa*, for a *Seminary* to train up the English Youth in the Religion of the *Roman Church*? And how I wonder was he the *Popes Creature* (as in History is recorded of him) if he never profest himself a Member of the *Roman Church*?

He adds, that *Ethelwolf and his Successors were Vicarius Christi*, owning no Supream in their Kingdoms but Christ, *ibid*.

Certain it is, that the *Popes Supremacy* was received long before *Ethelwolf's* time. *Perkins* against *Coccius* acknowledges, it begun openly and manifestly in *Boniface*, Anno 607. which was near two hundred and fifty years before the Charter of *Ethelwolf* for Tythes; and he quotes *Sigebert* upon the year 607. thus, "*Boniface obtained of the Emperor Phocas that the Church of Rome should be the Head of all Churches*." This was within a few years after *Austin's* coming from *Rome* hither, and planting the *Roman Religion* here. From which time, for the space of well-nigh a hundred years, all the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury*, seven in number successively, were *Italians* and *Forreigners*, as *Fox* notes in his *Martyrology*, vol. 1. pag. 121. shewing particularly in one of them, *Theodorus* by Name, that he was sent into England by *Vitellianus* the Pope, to be Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, whereupon this *Theodorus* took upon him the placing and displacing the Bishops at his Pleasure. He turned out *Cedda* and *Wilfride* the Arch-Bishops

Bishops of York, under Pretence they were *not lawfully consecrated*, notwithstanding (says Fox) they were *sufficiently authorized* by their Kings. *Wilfride* hereupon went to *Rome* to complain (but without redress) Why did he not complain to his King, if he was accounted *Vicarius Christi*? Why made he his application to the Pope, if the Pope's Supremacy was not then owned? Besides, if *Ethelwolf* and his Successors were *Vicarij Christi*, owning no Supream in their Kingdoms but Christ; how came it that they subjected themselves and their Kingdoms to the See of *Rome*, making them tributary to the Pope by the yearly payment of *Rome-scot* or *Peter-se ce*, which was a Penny Tax laid upon every House in *England*, and paid to the Popes Treasury at *Rome*?

He adds further, That *Ethelwolf* did not hold all the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*, and therefore was no Papist, p. 101.

That *Ethelwolf* was a Papist, according to the account which the other Priest gives of Popery (which he says is the truest Account he can give of it) I have proved before. That the holding every Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, is absolutely necessary to the denominating a Papist, I deny. A great part of the professed Papists do not hold all the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*. His Consequence therefore is false, although he should prove his Proposition. Suppose a man hold *Purgatory*, *Indulgences*, *praying to Saints*, *worshipping of Saints*, *praying for the Dead*, *sacrificing for the Dead*, *worshipping of Relicks*, *Auricular Confession*, *Penance*, *Absolution*, *Pilgrimages*, *Single Life of Priests*, *Latin Services*, *Masses*, *Merits*, and abundance more of such like *Romish Ware*; shall this man be denied to be a Papist because he

hold,

holds not *every particular* of the Church of *Rome*? How absurd were that? Verily I cannot see what should induce this Priest thus to argue, unless he should have apprehension, that the account which his Brother Priest has given of Popery, will take in *him and his Brethren too*, as holding such Doctrines and *superstitious Practices*, which by the corruption of time have prevailed in the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the true, ancient, catholick and apostolick Church; and has therefore to secure himself from the Imputation of Popery, invented this *new Definition* of a Papist.

But when he cannot clear *Ethelwolf* from being a Papist, he attempts to justify his Donation of Tythes though a Papist, and therefore sayes, pag. 101. *If we should grant — that Ethelwolf was a Papist, yet neither would that make his Donation of Tythes void; for an erroneous Opinion in the person who doth a thing good in it self (as we have proved Tythes to be) doth not make the Act void.*

How lightly doth he speak of Popery! how willing he is to extenuate it! *An erroneous Opinion!* It seems then Popery in his Opinion, is but an *erroneous Opinion*. I alwayes thought Popery had been at least *one degree worse* then a bare Erroneous Opinion. But suppose it for the present to be but an *erroneous Opinion*; yet may not an *erroneous Opinion* be sufficient to make void an Act which flows from that Erroneous Opinion, and is designed to uphold that Erroneous Opinion, as this Donation of Tythes did? The *Opinion* which was the cause of this Donation was this, *That this Gift would be a means to appease the Anger of God, obtain remission of Sins and Salvation of his Soul.* This was (to say on more of it) a *very erroneous Opinion*,

nion, and from this *erroneous* Opinion did spring the Donation of Tythes. Now this Opinion (which was the cause) being thrown aside and rejected, the Donation (which was the Effect) is void of it self; according to that known Maxim *Sublata Causa tollitur effectus*; i. e. *When the Cause is taken away, the Effect is taken away also.* Nor was this Donation Erroneously grounded in respect only of the Remission and Salvation expected by it; but also in respect of the Persons to whom, and the Service for which it was given. They to whom Tythes were then given, were *not* the Ministers of Christ, but his Enemies; and that Religion which Tythes were given to support, was *not* the true undefiled Religion and uncorrupted Worship of God, but the false corrupted Religion and Worship of the degenerate Church of Rome. What he sayes of the Act or thing being good in it self, hath no place here, unless he could as really prove, as readily say, that Tythes are good in themselves: Now Tythes or Tenths are good in themselves, any more then Ninths, Eights, Sevenths, or any other number, I confesse I do not understand.

But sayes he, pag. 101. *If all the good acts of Papists (in the true sense) and all their Charters and Donations be void, meerly because made and done by Papists; then all the Charters of our Kings, all the endowments of Hospitals and Schools, Magna Charta, and all publick Acts for some Hundreds of Years before K. Henry the eighth, would be void: Which Principle (sayes he) would destroy the Maintenance of the Poor, the Priviledges of Cities, and the Freedom of all English Subjects.* (With him in this part agrees the other Priest in his Vindication, pag. 303. urging for instance *Magna Charta*, to both which one and the same Answer may serve.)

This

This is all grounded upon a mistake, and I doubt a wilfull one too. His interest diswades him from distinguishing, as he ought, between *Religious* and *Civil* Acts. What the *Papists* did as men, as *Members of a Body Politick* is one thing; what they did as *Christians*, as *Members of a Religious Society* is another. Though in their *Religious capacity* they were wrong, yet in their *civil capacity* they were right? they were really men; they were truly *Members of the political Body*, though they were not truly *Members of the Body of Christ*; their *Kings* were true *Kings*, their *Parliaments* were true *Parliaments*, their *Civil Government*, a true *Government*, though their *Church* was not the true *Church*. The making void therefore this Charter of Tythes, which had direct Relation to their Religion, and was designed to support their Church and Worship, which was false, doth not at all shake, much less overthrow those civil Acts, Laws, Charters, and Priviledges, which in a civil capacity, as *Members of the Body politick*, and with relation to the civil Government, which was true, were made or enacted by them. He grounds his Thesis on a false Hypothesis, when he sayes, *If all the good Acts of Papists (in the true sense) and all their Charters and Donations be void, merely because made and done by Papists, &c.* For I do not say that all the good Acts of Papists (in the true sense) are void; but I say that this Act (the Donation of Tythes) was not a good Act, being given to maintain that Ministry which was not the true Ministry of Christ, but a false Ministry, and to uphold that Worship which was not the true Worship of God, but a false Worship. Nor were all their Charters and Donations void, merely because made and done by Papist; but this Charter of Tythes

Tythes is therefore void, because made to *support and sustain a Religion and Worship by which God was dishonoured.* So that I impugne not *all the good Acts of Papists*, meerly because done by *Papists* (nor indeed any good Act of theirs in the *true* sense) neither seek I to evacuate *all* their Charters and Donations (or indeed any of them) *meerly because made by Papists*: but I impugne *this* Donation and Charter of Tythes, as an *evil Act*, proceeding from the *erroneous, unsound and corrupt* judgment of *Papists*, and tending to *uphold and maintain an erroneous, unsound and corrupt Religion and Worship.* Safe then and sound may all the good acts of *Papists* in the *true* sense, all their civil and political Acts, Laws, Charters, Grants and Donations, the maintenance of the Poor, the Priviledges of Cities, and the Freedom of all English Subjects, stand and remain *inviolable and untouched*, notwithstanding the enervation of this Charter for Tythes.

§. 13. The second Objection which he offers in my Name is this, *That Tythes were given to maintain the Popish Clergy.* This he sayes is a mistake, pag. 102. for sayes he, *It was for the Maintenance of the English Clergy, who had a Patriarch of their own in those dayes, and were a Church of themselves, not holding all the Opinions of the Roman Church, nor professing any Canonical obedience to the Pope — and therefore they cannot justly be called a Popish Clergy.*

That Tythes were given to maintain the *English* Clergy is not doubted. But what then? Does their being an *English* Clergy acquit them from being a *Popish* Clergy? Cannot an *English* Clergy be *Popish*? I wish with all my Heart it could not. But what I pray was that Clergy that drank such great Draughts

of *Protestant Blood* in *Q. Mary's* time? was it not both *English* and *Papish*. Since then an *English* Clergy has been *Papish*, how vain a shift is it in him to say Tythes were not given to maintain the *Papish* Clergy, because they were given to maintain the *English* Clergy. But this *English* Clergy had (he sayes) in those dayes (of *Ethelwolf*) a Patriarch of their own. Had they so? How much was *Ethelwolf* then overseen in sending to Pope *Gregory* for absolution from his Vows, when he might as well have had it from his own Patriarch at home? What was the matter? was the Patriarch busie, or out of the way, or did not *Ethelwolf* know there was one. But who I pray was Patriarch in his time? what was his Name? When began the Patriarch at of *England*, and how long stood it? Out of what *Legend* I wonder did the Priest take this *Fable*, that he quotes no Authority for it. This Patriarch doubtless must be a man of a very soft and easie temper, to let the Pope send over his *Italians* hither to be Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury*, the chief Seat of his Patriarchat; and send his Legats hither to call and govern Councils. And when *Theodore* the *Italian* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* took upon him to displace *Wilfride* Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, was not *Wilfride* very much to blame to neglect his own Patriarch, and go to *Rome* to complain to the Pope? What Patriarch alive, but a very good natured Man would have endured all this? But I am partly of the Opinion, when it comes to the upshot, we shall find no other Patriarch of *England* but the Pope, (or some Deputy of his) who being in the time of the Council at *Nice*, one of the four Patriarchs of the *Christian* World (as it was then called) took in these Western parts into his Patriarchat. And when *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* dispensed

dispenced with the *English* in the case of Degrees prohibited, he did it (sayes *Perkins*) as Patriarch, *Problem.* pag. 204. Whence it appears that *England* was then subject to the Patriarch of *Rome*, which it would not have been, if it had had a Patriarch of its own.

He adds, *They were a Church of themselves, not holding all the Opinions of the Roman Church, nor professing any Canonical obedience to the Pope.* What he means by their being a Church of themselves I understand not. They were *such* a Church of themselves, as the Pope sent his Creatures to be Arch-Bishops in. They were *such* a Church of themselves, as whose Councils the Pope sent his Legats to govern. They were *such* a Church of themselves as in case of grievance had recourse to the Pope for redress. And for the Opinions of the *Roman* Church, that they held them all, I will not say, but I dare affirm they held enough to justly denominate them a *Papish* Clergy. Whatever the Opinions of the Church of *Rome* then were, that *those* were in Communion with that Church is notorious, and that some time before *Ethelwolf*, Pope *Vitellianus* sent *Theodorus* over into *England* and divers Monks of *Italy* with him, to see up here in *England* *Latine* Service, *Masses*, *Ceremonies*, *Letanies*, and *such* other *Romish* Ware, &c. if *Fox* and his Testimony may be taken, whose very words these are, *Martyrol.* vol. 1. pag. 112. And what Observance they paid to the Pope may be not only gathered from that passage in Arch-Bishop *Wilfride's* address to the Pope, wherein speaking of *Theodore* by whom he was turned out, he sayes, "*Quem quidem, pro eo quod ab hac Apostolicæ sedis summitate directus est, accusare non audeo.* i. e. Whom

" inas much as he hath been directed by this high A-
 " postolical See, I dare not accuse. And from Rai-
 nolds *De Rom. Eccles. Idolatria.* where in his Epistle
 pag. 13. He tells the *English Seminaries*, that about
 the Year 800. the King of England Reverencing the
 Pope as St. Peters Vicar, gave him Yearly a Penny out
 of every Family, &c. But also most plainly concluded
 from the words of *Florilegius*, cited by *Camden* in his
Brittania, pag. 411. where mentioning divers Pri-
 viledges of the Monastery of St. *Albanes*, founded by
 K. *Offa*, and endowed by him and his Successors, he
 giveth this for one, that " The Abbat or Monk ap-
 " pointed Arch-Deacon under him, hath pontifical
 " Jurisdiction over the Priests and Lay-men, of all
 " the Possessions belonging to this Church, so as he
 " yieldeth subjection to no Arch-Bishop, Bishop or
 " Legate, save only to the Pope of *Rome*. To the
 Pope of *Rome* then it appears, this Abbat, notwith-
 standing all his Priviledges, did yield subjection: How
 much more then did the rest of the Clergy, who were
 not priviledged as he was, yield obedience to the Pope!
 The same Author there likewise adds, That " *Offa*
 " the magnificent King granted out of his Kingdom
 " a set Rent or Imposition, called *Rome-scot* to St.
 " *Peter's* Vicar, the Bishop of *Rome*, and himself ob-
 " tained of the said Bishop of *Rome*, that the Church
 " of St. *Albane*, the Protomartyr of the *English* Na-
 " tion, might faithfully collect and reserve to their
 " own use the same *Rome-scot* throughout all the Pro-
 " vince of *Hertford*, &c. We see now what respect,
 what regard, what observance, what veneration,
 what subjection and obedience was used towards the
 Popes of *Rome* by the Kings and Clergy of *England*,
 even before *Ethelwolf's* time; much more was it in-
 creased

creased afterwards, as *times* grew worse, and *Popes* higher. That the Church of *Rome* was then *idolatrous*, and that grossly too in the Worship of Images, I have shewed before; as also, that divers *Monks* were sent into England by the *Pope*, to set up their *Latin Service*, *Masses*, *Letanies*, *Ceremonies*, and other *Romish Ware* here. That this *Romish Ware* was set up here cannot be doubted, since *Theodore* (one of those Monks which the *Pope* thus sent) was made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. From all which let the Reader judge whether the Clergy of those times was *Popish* or no.

But if they were, 'tis much alike for ought I see to the Priest; For he says, pag. 102. *Suppose again the Saxon Priests had been Papists, that would not have made the Donation of Tythes invalid, because Tythes are God's Right, and the Grant was intended to God.*

So that how bad soever the Clergy was to whom Tythes were given, 'tis all one, the Donation (if he may have his will) must stand. But why? *Because*, says he, *Tythes are God's Right*?

But how come Tythes or Tenthhs to be Gods Right more then Nineths or Eighthths? *He begs the Question*, and gives it for proof.

He adds, *The Grant was intended to God.*

He said himself but a few Lines before, *It was for the Maintenance of the English Clergy*, using the words of *Ingluf*, [*Univerſam dotaverat Eccleſiam Anglicanam*; i. e. *He endowed the whole Church of England.*] But suppose the Grant intended to God, must all Grants stand then that were intended to God? A notable way indeed to revive all the old Grants and Donations, which in the thickest Darkneſs of *Popish* Ignor-

Ignorance were by *blind Zeal* and *superstitious Devotion* given to Holy Church (as they called it) and intended to God.

But what thinkest thou, Reader, makes this Priest play the Advocate thus for God, and stickle so hard for God's part? is it his *Care for God*, or his *Love to himself*? thou shalt see anon the Reason. He intends to make *himself God's Receiver*, and therefore no wonder if he talk so much of God's part.

But he sayes, *The Clergy of that Age were God's only publick Ministers.*

It seems then he can be content to call the Popish Clergy God's publick Ministers: but I hope he sees the consequent, that then the popish Church was God's publick Church, and the popish Worship Gods publick Worship also; and where then was the Church, Worship and Ministry of Antichrist, so much cry'd out against by God's Confessors and holy Witnesses in almost every Age? Were they the publick Ministers of God who believed and held the Doctrine of Purgatory, of praying for the Dead, of sacrificing for the Dead, of praying to Saints, of worshipping Relicks, of Auricular Confession, of Pilgrimages, of Consecrations of Water, Oyl, Salt, Crism, of Latin Service, Masses, Letanies, and other Ceremonies of the Church of Rome. By this, Reader, thou mayst guess what a kind of Minister he himself is.

He adds, *The Donors supposed them a good Ministry, and as such endowed them; for they esteemed them to be God's Receivers*, p. 103.

There's no doubt but the Donors supposed them a good Ministry; but that Supposition doth neither make nor prove them so. And seeing they were not
what

what the Donors supposed them to be, there is no reason why that Donation should stand, which was made upon such a mistake, and without which it had not been made. For it cannot be supposed the Donors would have made such a Donation, had they not by Mistake supposed that Ministry (to which they made it) to be what it was not: and Reason would, that what was done upon a mistaken Supposition, should, when the Mistake appears, be void. But if all that has been given upon *wrong* Suppositions must stand, *his* Office of Receiver may in time grow very considerable: for, not here to mention all other popish Gifts, what does he imagine the *Turks* think of their Priests? Do not they *suppose* them to be a good Ministry, and *as such* endow them? Do not they esteem them to be God's Receivers? Whatever Donations then amongst them have been made, or shall be, upon this Supposition, shall be valid and in force, according to his Argument, in succeeding Ages; and if ever the *Turks* should be prevailed upon to assume the Name and Profession of *Christianity* (though otherwise sufficiently erroneous and corrupt) this Priest stands ready to be the *Receiver* of what was given to the *Turkish* Priests, upon the same Reasons by which he claims what was given to the popish Priests, viz. That *the Donors supposed them to be a good Ministry, and as such endowed them*; that they esteemed them to be God's Receivers; that the Grant was intended to God; that if there had been a Fault in the least, that would not prejudice the Masters Title; and that if they had been a *Turkish* Clergy, and forfeited their own Right, they could not forfeit *his*. The other Priest one may see has
the

the Office in his Eye already; for he says, *Suppose the Turkish Empire (through God's Mercy) should be converted to Christianity, may not the Muffti himself, and those whom T. E. calls Emaums (which are the Turkish Priests) together with all the Mosche (which are their Temples) and Revenues now belonging to them, be reconsecrated to Christianity?* Vindic. pag. 314. Judge now, Reader, whether with these men *all be not Fish that come to Net*; and whether it is likely they would stick at any thing that is like to be gainful, who have already contrived a Reconsecration of the *Turkish Priests Revenues*.

But to go on; The Author of the *Right of Tythes* pursues his Argument to the same purpose again, pag. 104. (says he of *Ethelwolf's* Clergy) *If they were erroneous, neither Prince nor People knew it; and they did not give these to maintain their Errors, but to maintain that which they believed to be a good Ministry, and the true Worship of God; and therefore the Donation remains good.*

May not all this be said of the *worst state* of the *Roman Church*? nay, may it not be said of the very *Turk* (whom I mention not for comparison, but illustration sake) Does either Prince or People know that their Priests are erroneous? or do they endow them to maintain their Errors? nay, do they not give their Endowments to maintain that which they believe to be a good Ministry, and the true *Worship of God*? But must those Endowments therefore remain good, and *Christian Ministers* claim and exact them!

He adds further, *That though that Clergy were erroneous, yet Ethelwolf ought to have given them God's due, and the people ought to have paid it to them, which*
he

he argues *as examples* from the Example of the *Jewish* Priests, who though very erroneous, had a Right to Tythes.

But is it as certain, that the popish Clergy in *Ethelwolf's* time was chosen and ordained by God, as the *Jewish* Priests were? And is it as certain, that Tythes were appointed by Christ for the Maintenance of *Christian* Ministers, as it is that they were appointed by God for the Maintenance of the *Jewish* Priests? He might do well to observe a Difference between the states of Law and Gospel. God then chose that whole Nation to be his peculiar People: hath he ever chose a whole Nation to be his peculiar People since? Nay, Hath he not chose himself a peculiar People out of all Nations, Kindreds, Tongues and Peoples, picking here one and there one, one of a Tribe and two of a Family? Out of that People he separated one entire Tribe to the service of the Tabernacle, who in a natural and lineal Succession were appointed to carry on and continue that Priesthood to the end of that Polity: but under the Gospel it is not so. His Argument therefore from the Example of the *Jewish* Priests will not hold. But if *Ethelwolf* and the people ought to have given and paid Tythes as God's Due to that Clergy, *though erroneous*, then surely he and they were unjust in not giving them sooner, and so were also his Predecessors: for, if as God's Due they ought to have given them at all, they ought then to have given them from the first, and upon that Supposition were guilty of Sacrilege in detaining them, which the Priest it may be did not fore-see when he called *Ethelwolf* a *Religious and Mild Prince*, pag. 95. a *Good King*, pag. 107. and the *Clergy's Benefactor*, pag. 109.

But to what end doth he argue the *validity* of the Donation from the *ignorance* of the Donors, saying, *If the Clergy were erroneous, neither Prince nor People knew it, &c.* seeing it had been all one if they had known it. For if *Ethelwolf* ought to have given Tythes to that Clergy, & the people ought to have paid them, though that Clergy were erroneous, what odds had there been if both Prince and People had known them to be erroneous? They must it seems have given and paid them Tythes however. How ill do these two periods agree! In the first he says, *Though that Clergy were erroneous, yet Ethelwolf ought to have given them God's Due, and the people ought to have paid it to them.* In the second he says, *The Donation is therefore good, because if they were erroneous, neither Prince nor People knew it.* Thus one while, their ignorance of the Clergy's Errors, and belief that they were a good Ministry, makes the Donation of Tythes to them good. Another while, though they were erroneous, yet the Prince ought to give them, and the people ought to pay them. What would it have availed then for either Prince or People to have known the Clergy was erroneous, if whether they knew it or knew it not, they were obliged to pay them?

But whatever that Clergy was, he says, *Almighty God hath now provided himself of Ministers that are no Papists, but the most considerable Enemies to Popery in all the World,* p. 10.

I verily believe it indeed, and withal, that those Ministers whom God hath now provided for himself, neither do nor dare receive Tythes. And though he cries out, *It is from a Protestant Clergy that the Quakers would take Tythes:* I dare engage the Quakers shall

shall never serve the *Protestant* Clergy as the *Protestant* Clergy has served the *Papish*, who have cryed out, *and that justly*, against the *papish* Clergy, and thrust them out, but have got the Tythes which were given unto them, and keep them for themselves. The *Protestants* in protesting against the *papish* Clergy, did well and very commendably : but their taking Tythes from the *papish* Clergy to themselves is their *blamish*, and will be so long as they retain them.

§. 14. The third Objection which the Priest gives in my Name is this, *That Ethelwolf granted this Charter for Tythes upon evil Motives. For the Good of our Souls, and the Forgiveness of our Sins, are the words of the Charter; which shews it to be an effect of that papish Doctrine of meriting Salvation by good works; and that he gave this as an expiation for his Sins.* Upon this he says, pag. 105. 'Tis somewhat strange that T. E. should reckon both these for evil Motives; and it is the first time that I ever heard it called an evil Motive, to be moved to do a good work, for the Good of our Souls.

'Tis very strange this Priest should think to avoid the force of the Objection by a Quibble only. To be moved to do a Good Work simply, is not an Evil Motive; but to be moved to do a good work as an expiation for Sin, or with an expectation of meriting Salvation thereby, is an evil Motive.

Again, (says the Priest) *The desire of Remission of his Sins was a good Motive in it self, only he took an ill course to obtain it, if he sought expiation by Good Works, ibid.*

The Desire of Remission of his Sins was a good Desire; but what was it a Motive to? If it was a Motive to him to give Tythes, that argues he expected

Etied Remission of his Sins by this Donation, and that he did so the words of the Charter confirm [Pro remissione animarum & peccatorum nostrorum] And though the Charter be by divers diversly reported, yet in this part they generally agree either in words or substance

Florentius of Worcester hath, Pro Redemptione anime sue & Antecessorum suorum; i. e. *For the Redemption of his Soul, and of the Souls of his Ancestors.* With him agrees *Hoveden.* And *Huntingdon* does not much differ, whose words are [Propter amorem Dei et redemptionem sui; i. e. *For the Love of God and his own Redemption.*] And the Bishop and Clergy then on their part undertaking, that such a number of Psalms and Masses should be sung and said for the King and his Nobles, express themselves to the *same purpose*, as having respect to the *same end*, namely, [Pro salute (as *Matthew Westminster* hath it) pro mercede et refrigerio delictorum suorum, (as in *Malmsbury*) i. e. *For their Salvation, for their Reward, and an abatement of their Offences.*] So that it is plain, they expected by this Donation to obtain the *Salvation and Redemption of their Souls, the Remission and Forgiveness of their Sins.*

And that it was the common Opinion of those times, that Sins might be expiated by Acts of Piety and Charity (as they accounted them) the Examples of *Offa* and *Alfrida* (the one falling somewhat before, the other somewhat after *Ethelwolf's* time) perswade. The first whereof having most treacherously and inhumanly murdered *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, did thereupon give the tenth part of his Goods to the Church, and founded Monasteries. The latter having occasioned the *Death* of her Husband

Earl

Earl *Ethelwold*, & murdered her Son in Law King *Edward*, did found Religious Houses for Monks & Nuns, 'To EXPIATE (that I may use the words of a great and learned Antiquary) 'and make SATISFACTI-
'ON for that most foul and heinous Fact, wherewith
'so wickedly she had charged her Soul, by making
'away King *Edward* her Husband's Son; as also to
'wash out the murdering of her former Husband
'*Ethelwold*, a most Noble Earl, &c. *Camden Brit-
tan.* pag. 262.

And that these Acts, and such like, of those and other Princes of those times, have been thus taken and understood by men of Note and Learning, appears not only by the last quoted Authority, but also by the Testimony of *Fox*, who compiled the Book of Martyrs: He in his first Volum, pag. 110. enumerating the many Monasteries and other Religious Houses, founded and endowed before *Ethelwolf's* time, says thereupon, 'The End and Cause of these
'Deeds and Buildings cannot be excused, being con-
'trary to the Rule of Christ's Gospel, for so much
'as they did these things seeking thereby MERITS
'with God, and for Remedy of their Souls, and
'REMISSION of their Sins. For Proof whereof
he produces a Charter of King *Ethelbald* (above fifty years older then that of *Ethelwolf*) granting certain Priviledges to Religious Men, in which after the Preamble are these words, 'Qua propter, ego
'*Ethelbaldus Rex Merciorum*, pro amore cælestis
'Patrie, et remedio animæ meæ studendum esse pre-
'vidi, ut eam per bona opera liberam efficerem in om-
'ni vinculo delictorum: i. e. *Wherefore I Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, for the Love of the Heavenly Country, and for the Remedy of my Soul, have fore-
seen*

seen it needful to endeavour by good Works to make my Soul free from all bond of Sins. From which sentence Fox observes how great the ignorance and blindness of those men were, who lacking no Zeal, only lacked Knowledge to rule it withal, seeking (sayes he) Salvation not by Christ only, but by their own deservings and MERITORIOUS deeds. And in pag. 123. setting down the Charter of Ethelwolf (so dear and precious to the Priests) upon these words in it [*Pro remissione animarum & peccatorum Nostrorum*] he hath this Note, ' Hereby (sayes he) it may appear, how when the ' Churches of England began first to be indued with ' Temporalities and Lands; also with Priviledges and ' exemptions enlarged: moreover (and that which ' specially is to be considered and lamented) what ' PERNICIOUS Doctrine was this, wherewith ' they were led, thus to set Remission of their Sins, ' and Remedy of their Souls, in this Donation and ' such other Deeds of their Donation, contrary to ' the information of Gods word, and no small derogation to the Cross of Christ. Thus far Fox; by which the Reader may at once see both the Opinion and Practice of Ethelwolf's Age in this matter, and also the Censure of this Ecclesiastical Writer in the early Age of Protestancy.

Yet the Priest sayes, pag. 106. *This Popish Doctrine of Merit and expiation by good works is not so old as that Age;* which he infers from some directions given by Anselm to those who visited the Sick, in which is mention of being saved by the death of Christ; as also from the words of Pope Adrian, who calls (as he sayes) *Merits a broken Reed, &c.*

The Popish Doctrine of Merits and Expiation by good works was not on a sudden and at once received

in the grossest sense in which it hath since been held, but by degrees; and for a while remission of Sins was attributed to the death of Christ, and good works jointly; which is the reason that in the writings of those elder times mention is made of the death of Christ, and of good works promiscuously, and the work of Redemption, Salvation, Remission indifferently ascribed to each. This the Priest seems not ignorant of, when he says, pag. 108. *We may perceive they did not think this good work ALONE could expiate their Sins, or merit Salvation without God's Mercy.*

As for the judgment of *Anselm*, *Adrian*, or any other such, it is not conclusive in this case: for we are not so much to regard what was the private judgment of some one or few particular Persons, as what was the general Opinion of the then Church. We find in *Queen Mary's* time, when Popery was at its height, when *Dr. Day*, Bishop of *Chichester* came to visit *Stephen Gardiner* the bloody Bishop of *Winchester*, lying then at point of Death, and began (as *Fox* relates) to comfort him with words of Gods promise, and with the free justification in the Blood of Christ our Lord, repeating the Scriptures to him, *Winchester* hearing that, *What my Lord* (quoth he) *will you open that Gap now? then farewell all together: to me and such other in my case you may speak it; but open this Window unto the people, then farewell all together,* *Martyrol*, vol. 2. pag. 1622. None I think can doubt but the Doctrine of meriting Salvation, and of Expiating Sins by good works, was then generally believed in the grossest sense by the Church of *Rome*, and yet we see by this instance some of that Church had

had a private Judgment otherwise, and some of the worst of that Church too. For scarce did *Bowyer* himself send more Sheep to the *Roman Shambles*, then did this *Butcherly* Bishop of *Winchester*, who (as *Fox* observes in the place fore-cited) on the day that *Ridley* and *Lutimer* were burnt at *Oxford*, deferr'd his Dinner till about four of the Clock in the afternoon, refusing to eat till by a Post from *Oxford* he had certain intelligence, that the Fire was kindled upon those Godly Martyrs. Thus we see some of the worst of the *Romanists* did not hold all the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*; yet neither doth that prove either that those *Romanists* were no *Papists*, nor yet that the Church of which they were Members did not hold those Opinions.

But the Priest, as if he hoped to wind himself off from the Objection by criminalizing the *Quakers*, says, *To merit Pardon and Salvation by good works, is now a Doctrine of the grosser Romanists, and I fear of some Quakers also, who (sleighting merit and necessity of Christ's Death) ascribe Salvation to the following the Light within, p. 106.*

In this he slanders the *Quakers*. I reject his Charge, and in the Name of the *Quakers* deny it. Let him name those *Quakers* that sleight the Merit and Necessity of *Christ's Death*. I solemnly declare I know no such; and yet I think, if any such there were, I might as well pretend to know them as he. Nor do the *Quakers* ascribe Salvation to the following the Light within, but they ascribe Salvation to *Christ Jesus*, to whom the Light within doth lead those that truly follow it. Herein he hath wronged the *Quakers*, as in his next words he abuses me; T. E. (says he)

he)- himself pleads, that there is no Salvation unless we have a sinless Perfection, and (as if Christ had never dyed) positively affirms, Wheresoever there is Sin, there is also Condemnation; for which he sets pag. 97. of my Book, in which no such words are to be found as he has put down in the first part of this Sentence [*viz. That there is no Salvation unless we have a sinless Perfection*] these not being my words, but *his own*. And the latter part he hath grossly perverted, making those words [*Wheresoever there is Sin, there is also Condemnation*] to import, as if Christ had never dyed; for which there is no colour at all. For the End of Christ's Coming and tasting Death, was not to take away the condemnation only, and leave the sin remaining; but he was manifested to take away our sins, 1 John 3. 5. to destroy the works of the Devil, ver. 8. Not only to take off the Condemnation due for those Works, and leave the Works standing; but to destroy the Works themselves. And where Sins are not taken away, where the Works of the Devil are not destroyed, there the Condemnation is not taken off, but remains, as the Apostle proves, Rom. 2. 9. Now this Doctrine doth not at all deny the Death of Christ, nor derogate any thing from the Vertue and Power thereof, but confesses and exalts it, in that it ascribes to him the whole work of taking away not only the condemnation, but the sin also; of not only taking off the guilt, but destroying the works of the Devil too: whereas the contrary Doctrine doth import, that Christ hath not compleated the Work he came to do, while it supposes him to take away the Condemnation, but leave the Sin remaining, whenas he was manifested on purpose to take away the Sin, and to destroy the Works of the Devil.

But as if the Priest thought it not enough to *pervert* my words, and fasten on them a suggestion by no means deducible from them, he thus goes on; *Now he that looks for Salvation by his Perfection, doth hold that Popist Doctrine of meriting Salvation by good Works.*

But who is he that looks for Salvation by his Perfection? *The Quaker does not*: who does? It is one thing to *believe Perfection attainable*, to aim at it, and press after it, but it is another thing to *look for Salvation by it*. Patience, Humility, Meekness, Temperance, *Charity*, and other *Christian* virtues are not only *desirable*, but (I suppose he'll grant) *attainable*. But must they who *seek after* and *obtain* these Virtues, needs look for Salvation by them? it is no fair consequent: and had he had the *last* of these Virtues, he would not have suggested this *foul slander*.

He adds there, *And he that proudly sayes, he hath no Sin to be remitted, renders Christ's death as useless, as he that believes he shall obtain remission by his good Works.*

He that speaks proudly, *Sins* in so speaking: But that must not be charged on him who speaks *the Truth in humility*. That remission of Sins is to be received *through the Blood of Christ*; the Apostle Paul expressly sayes to the *Ephesians*, c. 1. 7. and *Colossians*, c. 1. ver. 14. Now he who *hath thus received* remission of his Sins, and with an *humble and thankful Heart acknowledges it*, can he be said to render Christ's death *useless*, when he *attributes the remission of his Sins to Christ's Death*? If any one sayes his Sins are remitted, when they are not, he is to blame and deceives himself. If any one expects remission of Sins by any other way then the death of Christ, he renders the death

death of Christ useleſs. But ſurely, he that in Truth and Humility, acknowledges he hath received remiſſion of Sins *through the death of Chriſt*, doth not thereby render the death of Chriſt *uſeleſs*, but altogether *uſeful*; ſince without it his Sins had not been remitted. And thus the Quaker does, to the refutation of the Prieſt's ſlander, and the diſcovery of his evil mind in ſuggeſting the Quaker will be found more a Papiſt than K. Eſhelwolf.

But whether Eſhelwolf were a Papiſt or no, it is much alike to the Prieſt, for he ſayes, *We conclude therefore, that the Quaker falſly accuſes our Anceſtors in calling them Papiſts, and their Clergy Popiſh, and in affirming they were acted by evil motives. And yet (ſayes he) if all theſe had been as true as they are falſe, it had been hurtful only to themſelves, but doth not at all make their pious Donations of Tythes to God and his Miniſters to be void*, pag. 109. What Eſhelwolf was, who gave Tythes, (*viz.* *fiſt a Monk in Orders, then abſolved from his Vows by the Pope, a great Benefactor to the Pope, and to the Church of Rome in particular, and in a word the Popes Creature.*) What motives induced him to give Tythes (*viz.* *to obtain thereby Remiſſion of his Sins, and the Redemption of his Soul.*) What Clergy that was to whom he gave Tythes (*viz.* *Popiſh Prieſts and Monks, corrupt in Doctrin, corrupt in Practice, corrupt in Life, corrupt in Manners.*) What the Religion of thoſe times was, (*viz.* *praying to Saints, praying for the Dead, ſacrificing for the Dead, worſhipping of Relicks, Annicular Confeſſion, going on Pilgrimages, extream Unction, Chriſm, holy Water, Purgatory, Latine Services, and ſaying Maſs, with abundance more of the like nature*) hath been related before. And what a kind of Proteſtant that

Priest is, who will deny this to be *Popery*, and them to be *Papists* that held them, I leave to the Readers judgment. Many more instances might be given to shew how foully the Church of that Age was overrun with the *Romish Leprosie*; but these I take to be sufficient to satisfy any true *Protestant*. And indeed to what purpose were it to add more, when the Priest here sayes, That *if all this had been true* (that they that gave Tythes had been *Papists*, and the Clergy to whom they gave them had been *Popish*, and the motives on which they gave them had been Evil) yet it had been hurtful only to themselves, but doth not at all make their Pious Donations of Tythes to God and his Ministers to be void. So that it seems be they good or bad that gave, be they good or bad to whom they gave, be the motives good or bad which iuduced them to give, he regards none of all this; 'tis the Gift he looks at, and so long as he can enjoy that, he matters not whence or how it came. But seeing he having professed his both Reason and Conscience to the libidinous desire of advantage and interest, regards not how he comes by it: I will only recommend to the Readers consideration how ill it becomes them, who pretend to be *Protestant Ministers*, to lay claim to the gift of a *popish Prince*, given to maintain a *popish Clergy* and *Worship*, and upon such motives as are not only evil. but directly contrary to *Protestant principles*.

S. 15. In the former Objections which the Priest made in my Name against the Donation of Tythes, he left out the instances I had given to prove the Donation *popish*, and took no notice of them. In this which next follows, he leaves out some, and gives the others false: I to manifest further the corruption of that

that time, and Apostacy of that Church, did set down what the Clergy on their part undertook, in consideration of the said Charter, to perform; as in *Spelman's British Councils* I found it thus, *It pleased also Alhstan and Swishin, the Bishops of the Churches of Shirborn and Winchester, with their Abbats, and the Servants of God, to appoint, that upon the Wednesday in every Week, all our Brethren and Sisters in every Church, should sing Fifty Psalms, and every Priest say two Masses, one for K. Ethelwolf, and another for his Nobles that consented to this Gift, for a reward and for an abatement of their Offences. And that they should say for the King so long as he lived, Oremus, Deus qui justificas; for his Nobles also while they lived, Pretende Domine; but after they were dead, for the deceased King by himself, and for the deceased Nobles in common, &c.* Instead of this he hath these words, pag. 109. *Some slighter Cavils he hath, pag. 292, 293. As first, his calling the Clergy of that Age Apostates and corrupt, for being so grateful to their Benefactors, as to engage to sing David's Psalms, and to make Prayers twice a Week for them, that God would reward their bounty and pardon their Sins. What is there in this at all like my quotation, unless it be the word [Psalmes?] Do I call them Apostates and corrupt for being grateful to their Benefactors? Or do I not note the manner of their expressing their gratitude, as an instance of their Apostacy and Corruption? in that they undertook to say Masses for them, both Living and Dead? instead of which he sayes, they engaged to make prayers for them. Yet he is fain to confess, pag. 110. they called these Prayers [Missal] but sayes, they were far different from the Missal of the Church of Rome, whose Offices (he sayes)*
were

were first brought in here by Osmund Bishop of Sailsbury, Anno. 1096.

But in that he speaks wrong. For long before Osmund's time (300. Years at least) under Pope Adrian, who (according to Gembrand) entred the Popedom in the Year 772. (about eighty years before Ethelwolf's Donation) the Roman Missal (made, as they say, by Pope Gregory) was (by decree of a Council at Rome, with the help of a Popish Miracle) commanded to be universally received and used. The Story whereof (for brevity here omitted) is set down at large by Durandus in his *Rationale* l. 3. c. 2. and out of him and other Authors, by John Fox in his first Volumn of the Book of Martyrs, pag. 117. This Decree for the establishing Gregory's Missal, and making it universal, was vigorously prosecuted by Charles the Emperor, not only threatening, but punishing those that refused it, and burning the other Service Books where-ever he found them, insomuch that, as Fox observes, Gregory's Service had only the place, and hath (adds he) to this day in the greatest part of Europe. And that it was received & used here in England as well as in other Countries, not only the Devotion this Nation then had to the Church of Rome, and the influence Charles the Emperor had upon the English, may make it probable: But the occasion of Osmund's bringing in that Service which was called the Use of *Sarum*, set down at large both by Fox and Stow, doth fully and plainly prove. Fox vol. 1. p. 166. sayes, 'Thurstan coming out of Normandy
' with William the Conqueror, and being made Abbat of Glassebury, fell out with his Monks to such
' an height that from Words they went to Blows, by
' which divers were Wounded, and some Slain; the
' occasion

' occasion whereof was, that *Thurstan* contemning
 ' their Quire Service, then called the Use of St. *Gre-*
 ' *gory*, compelled his Monks to the use of one *William*
 ' a Monk of *Fiscam* in *Normandy*. *Stow* in his *Annals*
 of *England*, pag. 157. upon the Year 1083. rela-
 ting the same matter, sayes thus, ' This Man (*Thur-*
 ' *stan*) among other his Fellows, despising the Song
 ' called *Gregory's* Song, began to counsel the Monks
 ' to learn the Song of one *William* of *Festamps*, and
 ' to sing it in the Church, which to do when they re-
 ' fused, as they that had been ever used not only in
 ' this, but in other service of the Church, to follow
 ' the manner of the *Roman* Church, sudainly on a day
 ' with a company of Armed men brake into the Chap-
 ' ter-house, &c. and so goes on to relate the *Skirmish*
 which being beside my purpose, I omit, and only ob-
 serve from these Testimonies, first, that this *Roman*
Mass, instituted by *Gregory* and bearing his Name,
 and by Pope *Adrian* & his *Roman* Council appointed
 to be used in all places, was received and used here
 in *England* before the Conquest; secondly, that the
English Clergy had been ever used, not only in this,
 but in other service of the Church to follow the man-
 ner of the Church of *Rome*; thirdly, that this *Missal*
 of *Gregory*, thus by decree of Council made univer-
 sal, and then received and used here in *England*, was
 in substance the same that was used afterwards, both
 here and elsewhere untill the time of Reformation;
Fox saying expressely, that *Gregory's* Service had only
 the place, and yet bath to this day in the greatest part
 of *Europe*. But that the Reader may the better
 judge whether these *Masses* were such innocent things
 as the Priest doth here represent them, whether the
 Priests that said them were the right Ministers of
 God,

God, as pag. 112. he makes no doubt they were; whether the People that used them were *nearer in Opinion to the Protestant Church of England* then to the present *Papists*, as pag. 135. he says they were; And whether if they were so, it is not *greatly to be lamented*; take here a Story out of *Bede*, shewing what Opinion they had in those times of the vertue of their *Masses*. 'In the Wars between *Ecgfrid* and *E-*
'*ditred* Kings of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, a
'Young Man named *Inna*, one of *Ecgfrid's* Souldi-
'ers was left for dead among the Slain; where, after
'he had lain a Day and Night, recovering sense and
'strength, he got up, intending to escape to his
'Friends; but falling into his Enemies hands, he was
'made a Prisoner, and after his Wounds were cured,
'he was bound, that he might not get away: But no
'Bonds would stay upon him, but alwayes at a cer-
'tain hour fell off. Of which *Bede* gives this reason,
'This Young man had a Brother, a Priest, named
'*Tunna*, who was at that time Abbat of a Monaste-
'ry called from his Name *Tunnaestir*. This Abbat
'hearing his Brother was slain, went to search out
'his Body among the dead, and found a Corps so like
'his Brother's, that not doubting it to be the same,
'he took it up and buried it in his Monastery; and
'took care that *Masses* were said often to obtain pardon
'for his Soul; by the celebration of which *Masses*,
'says *Bede*, it happened that no man had power to bind
'him, but presently his Bonds were loosed. And he re-
'ports the Young man himself to give this Answer to
'the Earl that had him in custody, inquiring the rea-
'son why he could not be kept bound, *I have* (said
'he) *a Brother a Priest in my Country; and I know*
'*that he, supposing me to be slain, doth often say Mass*
for

' for me, and if I were now in the other World, there
 ' my Soul, through his intercessions, would be released
 ' from punishments. Afterwards, when this Young
 ' man, being Ransomed, returned home, and re-
 ' counted what had befallen him, many (sayes the
 ' Historian) by the report hereof were stirred up in
 ' Faith and Devotion to Pray, or to give Alms, or
 ' to offer the Sacrifices of an holy Oblation to the
 ' Lord, for the REDEMPTION of their Relations
 ' who were departed out of this World. For they under-
 ' stood (sayes Bede) that the healthful Sacrifice was
 ' available to the EVERLASTING REDEMPTI-
 ' ON both of SOUL and BODY. Thus hast thou
 Reader a brief discovery both what sort of Masses
 were then in use, and what they attributed to them;
 no less then the Redemption of Souls, for which Christ
 died. Now for a close, take withal the Account
 which Perkins in his Problem against Coccius, pag.
 145. gives of the Rise of the Mass, thus, ' First,
 ' (sayes he) The Lord's Supper was celebrated in a
 ' most plain manner. 2dly, It was increased with
 ' Ceremonies, and first with Oblations for the Dead,
 ' which was a gratulation or thanksgiving for them,
 ' and this was two Hundred Years after Christ. 3dly,
 ' Prayers for the Dead were added about the Year
 ' 400. Then Purgatory, and Redemption of Souls
 ' out of Purgatory by Masses. Then about the Year
 ' 780. Gregories Mass began to be used in the
 ' Churches of Italy, where before the Liturgy of
 ' Ambrose had been more in use. 4thly, They be-
 ' gan to dispute of Transubstantiation about the Year
 ' 840. So that it seems, not only saying of Masses
 for the Redemption of Souls out of Purgatory was in use,
 but Transubstantiation also was on Foot before this

famous Charter of *Ethelwolf* for Tythes was granted. Judge now Reader, if thou art a *Protestant*, whether *Poper*y had not made her incroachments in the Church before *Ethelwolf's* time; whether the *Clergy* to whom he gave Tythes were not *Popish*, who undertook to say these *Masses* for him and his Nobles both Living and Dead, and whether the Priest has not grossly abused his Reader in suggesting that these *Masses* were only innocent *Prayers*, and in affirming they were far different from the *Missal* of the Church of *Rome*.

§. 16. Next, he says, pag. 110. I quarrel with the Charter for the Names of the Saints annex to it, in whose Honour its said to have been made.

I gave the words of *Ingulf* thus, '— for the Honour of *Mary* the glorious Virgin and Mother of God, and of Saint *Michael* the Arch-Angel, and of the Prince of the Apostles Saint *Peter*, as also of our holy Father Pope *Gregory*. To take off this Note of *Poper*y, the Priest sayes, pag. 110. T. E. may note, that there is not one of the three Mentioners of this Clause that agree in it, so that it is very probable, the *Historians* living some Ages after, might (as their manner is) put in this less material passage in the phrase of their own times, of which dealing in other Cases I could give many instances.

To let pass his *Solecism*, or *Incongruity* of Speech, [that there is not one of the three Mentioners of this Clause that agree in it] more tollerable in one so illiterate as my self, then in such a profound Rabbi: I desire him and the Reader also to take notice, that the same Objection, upon the same Reason, lies as forcibly against the Extent of the Charter it self, there being

being as *great* variety and *little* agreement in that part amongst the mentioners of the Charter, as there is in the mention of the Saints, for whose Honour the Charter is said to be made; so that upon that score it may as well be questioned, whether the Grant was *general* of *All* England, or not: for some of the Historians give it in such words as seem to speak *only* of his *Demeasne* Lands, some of his Kingdom of *West-Saxony* only: so that it is as probable that the Historians that extend this Donation to *All* England, might therein follow the Humour of *their own* times, of which dealing in other cases I could give *some* instances also. In the meantime the Priest had best have a care how he adventures to *raise* the *Images* of the Saints carved upon his beloved Charter, lest before he be aware he *shake* and weaken the *Foundation* of the Charter it self.

But he says, *However, it was given to God in the first place, and no mention of the Saints in all the body of the Charter,*

But sure he had forgotten that *Matthew* of *Westminster* hath in the very body of the Charter [*Deo et beatæ Mariæ et omnibus Sanctis*; i. e. To God and blessed *Mary*, and to all Saints.]

In his next page he says, *I quarrel with the other Priest because he will not grant they gave Tythes in a blind and superstitious Zeal*; and he takes upon him to defend it misapplying the words of the Apostle, *It is good to be Zealous alwayes in a good thing.*

But the Priest has not prov'd their giving of Tythes *a good thing*; and I have proved, *they were blind and superstitious in this* as well as in other things, and therefore their Zeal therein was *not commendable*, but *condemnable*.

But his Brother Priest seems to be now of *another Mind*, and to understand the Case better; for in his *Vindication*, pag. 303. acknowledging, *there might be some Corruptions and great Defects in Ethelwolf's Charter*, yet withal endeavouring to excuse him, as *having no idolatrous Design, but an honest Zeal, that those whom he esteemed Ministers of Christ, might be provided for*; he adds, *What can be more uncharitable than to make a damnable Idolater of him, for doing something, though it were in an ill manner, through invincible Ignorance?* Thus he, who in his *Conferences*, pag. 147. would by no means admit that Tythes were given in an *ignorant Zeal*, doth here, in Contradiction both to his Brother Priest and to him'self, acknowledge this Donation of Tythes was made in an *ill manner*, and through *invincible Ignorance*. Nor doth he attempt to wipe off those stains, which I had discovered in his Charter, but rather endeavours to cover them again, by drawing the *Curtain of Ignorance* before them. This however he is forced to grant, That this Donation of Tythes proceeded from *Ignorance*, yea, from *invincible Ignorance*: so that *ignorance*, at least, (to say no worse) was, in this particular, the *Mother of Ethelwolf's Devotion*.

Again, says the Author of the *Right of Tythes* to his Brother Priest, *Whereas you had said, Tythes were given to God for the Maintenance of his Ministry, T.E. interprets this to be a calling the idolatrous Priesthood of the Church of Rome Gods Ministers, which (says he) is a malicious and false Inference, since the Priesthood to whose Maintenance Tythes were given, was neither Idolatrous nor the Priesthood of the Church of Rome*, pag. 111.

The Inference is neither malicious nor false; but plain and true. These Priests, both one and t'other, affirm that Priesthood to whose Maintenance *Ethelwolf* gave Tythes, to be God's Ministry. I have proved they were a *Popish* Priesthood by the Testimonies of divers approved Authors, by the tenour of the Charter it self, and by the Definition the former Priest gave of *Popery*, viz. *That it is such Doctrines and superstitious Practices, which by the corruption of time have prevailed in the Church of Rome, contrary to the true, antient, catholick and apostolick Church.* I have shewed at large that those Priests, to whose Maintenance *Ethelwolf* granted Tythes, did hold and use such *Doctrine and superstitious Practices*, as by the corruption of time have prevailed in the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the true, antient, catholick and apostolick Church, of which I have given many instances. I have also proved that *Priesthood Popish* by the assertion of this latter Priest my present Opponent, who in his *Right of Tythes*, pag. 99. says, *The Benefit of this Donation hath been enjoyed for eight hundred years by those to whom the Donation was made*, which must of necessity be understood of *popish Priests*, otherwise the Assertion is utterly false. For he is a meer Stranger to History, who doth not know, that from *Ethelwolf's* time until the Reformation, which in this Nation began little more then a hundred years ago, *Romish Superstitions, Corruptions and Idolatries*, encreased daily and prevailed, and the *English Clergy* in every Age grew more devoted to the Observance of the Sea of *Rome*. Now when I have so fully proved that *that was a popish Priesthood* to whose Maintenance King *Ethelwolf* gave Tythes, and yet these Priests plainly affirm that, *that Priest-*
hood

hood was God's Ministry, what inference can be more plain and true, then that they call that *idolatrous Priesthood* of the Church of *Rome* God's Ministers? This Priest sayes, pag. 102. *The Clergy of that Age was God's only publick Ministers*; and pag. 99. *The benefit of the Donation had been enjoyed for eight hundred years by those to whom the Donation was made.* The Donation was made in the year eight hundred fifty five, to which 800 years of enjoyment being added brings to the year one thousand, six hundred, fifty five: I desire thee Reader to compare these two sayings of this Priest together, and to examin well the account of time, and then judge whether this very Priest, who cryes out so vehemently against me for inferring that the other Priest call'd the *idolatrous Priesthood* of the Church of *Rome* God's Ministers, calling it a malicious and false inference; doth not himself call that *idolatrous Priesthood* of the Church of *Rome*, God's own publick Ministers. When he sayes, *The Clergy of that Age, to whom this Donation of Tythes was made, was God's only publick Ministers, and that the Benefit of this Donation was enjoyed for eight hundred years by those to whom the Donation was made,* doth it not clearly follow that he accounts all the *popish Clergy* in *England*, in the blackest and bloodiest times of *Popery*, even *Bonner* himself and his Brethren, God's only publick Ministers, who were indeed the publick Ministers of *Antichrist*, and the greatest Enemies of God? Nay, he adds, pag. 112. *It is certain the Donors intended them (viz. Tythes) to the right Ministers of God; and I make no doubt (sayes he) they were such to whom they gave them; and they to whom they were given enjoyed (sayes he, pag. 99.) the benefit thereof for eight hundred years.*

What's

What's the Consequent? That he makes no doubt they were the right Ministers of Christ, who enjoyed the Tythes for eight hundred years after *Ethelwolf*, which comprehends the Popish Priesthood in its most filthy and polluted state. Can any one believe this Priest to be himself a Minister of Christ? Let him clear himself hereof if he can, and shew how the Benefit of this Donation of Tythes was enjoyed for eight hundred years *by any Priesthood that was not Popish and Idolatrous.*

§. 17. In his next Section he falls foully upon me; and he that was so fine-mouthed, that *he would not meddle with Scurrility, because Railing is not Reasoning*, p. 12. bestows here again on me his usual Rhetorick of *Dishonesty, Ignorance and Impudence.* The Occasion he takes from hence. The former Priest had said in his *Friendly Conference*, pag. 146. *Tythes being given to God for the Maintenance of his Ministry, no blemish in the Dedication of them can alter their property.* Hereupon in my Answer, pag. 294. I observed he was for having *all he could get*, be it dedicated by whom it will, or how it will, and that he wanted nothing but power to revive all the old Donations of the Papists, given in the mid-night darkness of Popery, to redeem their Souls out of a supposed Purgatory; then I added, *Nay, so general is his Assertion (no Blemish, &c.) that nothing once dedicated by whomsoever, would seem to come amiss to him; not the Offerings of the Gentiles to their Heathenish Deities, not the Endowments of the Turks to their Mahometan Priests, nor yet the thirty pieces of Silver (the price of Innocent Blood) had Judas chanced to have dedicated*
it,

it, would upon this Position, have been unwelcome to this man, could he once but have got them into possession. To this the latter Priest says, pag. 113. Were these given to the true God? or were these Offerings Tythes? If they were not both of these, why doth this Quaker mention them here?

To justify Ethelwolf's Donation of Tythes to the Popish Clergy, the Priest often urges the Intention of the Donors, as pag. 103. *The Donors supposed them a good Ministry, and as such endowed them; for they esteemed them to be God's Receivers.* Again, pag. 112. *It is certain the Donors intended them to the right Ministers of God.* And pag. 104. *They gave Tythes to maintain that which they believed to be a good Ministry, and the true Worship of God; and therefore the Donation remains good.* Here it is evident he makes the validity of the Donation to depend upon the Intention of the Donors. But when the Gentiles offered to their Heathenish Deities did they not suppose and believe those Deities to be true Gods, and the Priests of those Deities to be a good and a right Priesthood? and did not some of them offer Tythes also, as the Priest has taken some needless pains to prove? Now if as he argues pag. 104. *The Donation therefore remains good, because the Donors gave Tythes to maintain that which they believed to be a good Ministry, and the true Worship of God (although in very deed it was a bad Ministry, and a false Worship)* I appeal to the judicious Reader, whether the same Argument doth not serve, and the same Reason reach to fetch in the Gentiles Donations of Tythes to their Heathenish Priests. And for the Turks, who are said to profess the true
God

God (though not to worship him *truly*) can any one doubt but they believe their *Arabumetan Priests* to be a good Ministry, and their *Alcoran-worship* the *true* Worship of God? how plain is it then, that according to this Priest's Argument, their endowments to their Priests remain good? and that these Priests could be well content to receive them, if they knew but how to come by them, and the rather because the Revenues of the *Turkish Priests* consist partly in Tythes also. Nay, he sticks not to say, pag. 117. *If the things were offered to maintain an evil way of Worship, they may be applied to maintain a right way of Worship; but still they must remain sacred? But the other Priest hath since cleared the case: for in his Vindie. pag. 314. he sayes, Suppose the Turkish Empire (through Gods mercy) should be converted to Christianity, may not the Muffti himself, and those whom T. E. calls Emaums together with all the Mosks and Revenues now belonging to them, be reconsecrated to Christianity? What therefore I observed from the words of the former Priest, is confirmed and proved by them both; and no imputation of dishonesty or ignorance, can be justly charged on me therein. But he taxes me with impudence, in calling that a general Assertion which (he sayes) had three limitations, Tythes, the true God, and the Maintenance of his Ministry. pag. 113.*

But he might have taken notice, that I call'd his Assertion general with relation to those words [No blemish, &c.] which is spoken without any limitation; be the Blemishes in the Dedication never so many, never so great, never so foul, yet with them it matters not; No blemish in the dedication of them can alter their property, said the first Priest, and Your words I will stand to (sayes the last Priest) and make it ap-

pear, That such things as Tythes are, being given to the true God for a good end, NO BLEMISH in the dedication can alter their property. This he undertakes to prove by the instance of the Censers offered by Corah's company, pag. 114. And he blames me for observing what a pretty Parallel the other Priest had found out, and how well he had match't his case, in bringing this rebellious Consecration, attended with a damnable Sin, to Parallel the dedication of Tythes. But doubtless he that shall well consider it will find he has by this Parallel rather hurt then help't, disgraced then credited his Cause. It is the difference, he sayes, between these two Cases, that makes the Argument good. Why then did he call it a parallel case? Is this case parallel to his, and yet doth his Argument receive its strength not from the parity but the disparity or difference of the case? that's strange indeed: where was his Logick, and common sense, when he writ that! He quarrels also at the reason given why those Censers were commanded to be kept, namely, To be a sign and memorial to the Children of Israel, that no stranger, &c. Numb. 16. 40. This Reason, though given in the Text, he rejects, and sayes, If we dare believe Almighty God, rather than this ignorant Quaker, this was not the Reason why they were to be kept; for, sayes he, God gives another Reason of that, ver. 37. Because they are hollowed, and ver. 38. For they offered them before the Lord, therefore they are hollowed.

In the same 38. verse, the particular Reason was given also, The Censers of these Sinners against their own Souls, let them make them broad Plates for a covering of the Altar: for they offered them before the Lord, therefore they are hollowed: and they shall be a sign un-

to the Children of Israel. Here was both a *general* Reason, and a *particular*, the *general* Reason was, *their being hollowed*; the *particular* Reason was, *that they might be a Sign and Memorial unto the Children of Israel*, as the Text expresses. Now the *general* Reason doth *not* exclude the *particular*, any more then the *particular* doth *destroy* the *general*. But here we see plainly that God would not suffer these *Censers* to be used in the service to which they were dedicated, but caused them to be wrought out, and put to another use; which because I exprest before by [*the altering of their property*] he makes himself *prophanely* merry; and having *ironically* call'd it an *ingenious Note of T. E's*, he asks, *Hath not his immediate teaching learnt him to speak sense? the form of the Censers was altered indeed, but the property* (sayes he) *was not altered at all.*

What manner of teaching he hath had is sufficiently discovered by his *frequent Scurrilities* and *prophane jests*. But for all his conceit, he may take notice, that the word [*property*] having *various* significations, relates to *use* as well as to *possession*; so that those *Censers* being turned into *Plates*, and thereby losing with their *form* the *use* to which they had been appropriated, it is not improper to say the *property* of them (in that respect) was altered. But not to regard such *trifling Cavils*, wherein the other Priest also concurs with him in his *Vindication*, pag. 304, 305. let us examine how far the instance of the *Censers* may patronize this *Donation of Tythes*. In the time of the *Law*, among the *Vessels* and *Utensils* of the *Tabernacle*, *Censers* had a place and service by *God's command*; and they, as well as the rest of the holy *Vessels*, were *hallowed* and *consecrated* to the

service of God. And while that Tabernacle or Temple, and the Ceremonial Worship thereof remained, these Vessels were not to be put to any prophane or common use. Yet had not those Vessels any *intrinsic* and *perpetual* Holiness, but only an *outward* and *temporal* sanctity, as Vessels *set apart* for that service. But when that Service was at an end, that Temple forsaken, that Worship, and all its dependencies, laid aside, those Vessels *ceased* to be Holy, and became subiect to *common use*. And though while that *Typical* Worship stood, in the Service of which *Censers* were by *divine appointment* used, the *Offering* of Censers before the Lord did *hallow* and exempt them from common use: yet since that Worship is ended, and Law abrogated, in and by which *Censers* were *appointed* to be used, the *Offering* of Censers *now* would *not* have that effect. For if a man should now dedicate to the Lord all such Vessels as were *formerly* used in the *Jewish* Worship; what would such a Dedication signifie? Must the things so dedicated be reputed *Holy*, and exempted from all common use? That were indeed a ready way to *extirpate Christianity*, & reduce the World to *Judaism*: but who would not declame against that! As in the case of the Censers, so in the case of *Tythes*, which was *another* part of the *Ceremonial* Law, and appurtenant to that *Typical* state. While the *Ceremonial* Law was in force, if a man made an *Oblation* of *Tythe*, or any other part of his estate, it was thenceforth *hollowed* to the Lord, and might not be converted to common uses. But since Christ hath abrogated the *Ceremonial* Law, by which *Tythes* were commanded, a *Dedication* of *Tythes* is *no more sacred NOW*, than a *Dedication* of *Censers NOW* would be. When therefore the Priest sayes,

sayes, pag. 114. *These Censers were by God's special order declared holy, and forbidden to be used to any common use afterward; it must be understood of the time of the Law, when Censers were in use; not of the time of the Gospel, wherein they have no place.* And when he sayes, pag. 117. *The Censers being once given to God, must remain to be his still;* If he extends the particle [*still*] to the present time, he errs egregiously; if he do not so extend it, he doth not obtain his end. And when he sayes, pag. 114. *If the Censers might not be alienated, much less should Tythes;* He argues fallaciously: for it doth not follow, that because the *Censers* might not be alienated *then*, *Tythes* should not be alienated *now*. But as, if the *Censers* dedicated under the *Law* might not be alienated *then*, neither might *Tythes* be alienated *then*: So if *Censers* dedicated under the *Gospel* may be alienated *now*, *Tythes* dedicated under the *Gospel*, may in like manner be alienated *now*. This he cannot avoid, if he grant that *Censers* and other Vessels of the *Jewish* Worship dedicated under the *Gospel*, may be alienated: But if he do not grant this, he sets open, not a *Wicket*, but the *broad Gates* to *Judaism*. For if it be in man's power to dedicate *what he pleases* to God, and the thing so dedicated must be reputed *holy*, and *separate* to a Religious use, what bar is there to hinder the bringing in of *all the Jewish Ceremonies*? In short, The hallowed *Censers* not being alienable then (in the time of the *Law*) shew that *Tythes* might not be alienated then (in the time of the *Law*) but it doth not prove that *Tythes* might *never* be alienated, any more then it proves that *Censers* might never be alienated, but must remain separated to holy uses to the *World's End*. Though *Censers* offered

ed in the time of the Law, when they were in use by divine appointment, were hallowed, and not alienable to common uses; yet *after that Law was abrogated*, and the use of Censers ended, the offering of Censers would *not* have hallowed them, but they might notwithstanding such Oblation be put to common uses. And if the offering of Censers *then* will not patronize the offering of Censers *now*, nor their being hallowed *then* infer their being hallowed *now*; to be sure the offering and hallowing of Censers *then* will not justify the offering and hallowing of Tythes *now*; nor the unlawfulness of alienating those hallowed Censers *then*, infer it unlawful to alienate Tythes *now*. The offering of Censers *then*, while that Worship stood to which they served, will no more authorize any to dedicate Tythes *now*, when that Priesthood is ended to which they did peculiarly belong, then it will warrant the offering of Censers *now*, when that Worship to which they served is ended. Neither doth it any more follow, that because the Censers *then* offered were hallowed, and might not *then* be alienated to common uses, therefore Tythes *now* offered are hallowed, and may not now be alienated to common uses; then it doth that if Censers should be *now* offered they would be hallowed *now* also, and might not *now* be alienated to common uses. Thus then we see his instance of the Censers will not make good the Donation of Tythes, but that Tythes, notwithstanding the Dedication he talks of, *may safely be alienated to common uses*. And indeed, if this matter be rightly considered, it will appear the World has been grievously gull'd in this case of Dedications. For first it was hammered in to the peoples Heads, that to make Dedications of Monyes,

Moneys, Lands, Tythes, &c. to God and holy Church, was a thing very pleasing and acceptable unto God, a means to appease and pacifie his Wrath, to obtain Pardon and Remission of Sins, and the ready way to get out of Purgatory. When once the People had drunk in this Perswasion, how was their *Dedicating Zeal inflam'd!* what Murder or other horrid Crime was committed, the expiation whereof was not sought by a Gift to holy Church (as it was then called!) They needed not any other Spur; and had not the Statute of *Mortmain* at length been provided as a *Bis* to restrain and curb the immoderate heat of their misguided Devotion, it may well be doubted that instead of the tenth nine parts often had been given to the Church, so willing were men to go the nearest way to Heaven, as they misapprehended this to be. 'It was (saith *Andrew Willet* in his *Synopsis of Popery*, fifth general Controversie, pag. 309.) 'a common 'practice in time of *Popery*, so the Priests might be 'enriched, they cared not greatly though all the 'Stock of their Patrons and Founders were undone. 'The Statute of *Mortmain* (says he) was made to 'restrain this. And now although those Priests, by whose false Insinuations and crafty Allurements the most of these Donations were fraudulently procured, are turned out of doors and rejected, yet another sort are come up in their rooms, who, though they pretend to be the most considerable Enemies to the former in the world, yet are well content to reap what the others had thus sowed. These men tell us, that these Donations (Tythes, and such things as Tythes are) must remain sacred, may not be alienated to common uses. And if any one would object that they were gotten indirectly, obtained *per dolum malum*, by Fraud and

Cozin,

Cozin, it avails not; they make no matter of that; No Blemish in the Dedication can alter the Property, say they, who make themselves the Receivers. *Factum valet, quod fieri non debuit*, said the Friendly Conference, pag. 147. in Margin; i. e. Though they ought not to have been dedicated at all, yet being once dedicated, the Dedication stands good. Thus, Reader, thou may'st see how miserably the World has been abused by their Priests, who taking advantage to work upon their Devotion, enticed the People to make these Donations, and now cry out they are ir-reverfible, being once dedicated they cannot be altered, nor alienated to common uses. Who sees not now, that by the same Art they might have gotten, and with the same Reason have held nine parts of ten, as well as the tenth? And well was it for the Nation that a stop was put to this Ecclesiastical Drein, before the Church-Corban had swallowed up all; out of which, it seems, there is no Redemption.

§. 18. In his next Section, pag. 117. he charges me with exasperating the Impropriators against the Priests, and endeavouring to get them on my side; which is altogether false. I am not so tender of the Impropriators Right (as he suggests) as not believing the Impropriators have any Right to the Tythes of another man's Crop; It is notorious enough that the Quakers suffer by Impropriators as well as by Priests; and my Argument lies against both. But he that shall read that place in my Book which the Priest hath quoted, pag. 297. may plainly see my aim is to shew, that even according to the Priest's Argument, the Impropriators have no right to Tythes. My words are, *It is obvious, that if because Tythes have been de-*
dedicated

dicated (as he sayes) to God, it is unlawful to alie-
 mate them to common uses, then it must needs be unlaw-
 ful for them to hold their Impropriations, because they
 were offered in like manner as the rest of the Tythes were.
 But (say I there) let them look to themselves. Whe-
 ther this be flattering and clawing the Impropriators
 (as he unhandsonly suggests) let the Reader judge.
 Then for those Lands given to Abbies and other Re-
 ligious Houses (as they were once called) and upon
 the dissolution of those Houses settled on the Crown,
 it is manifest his Argument impeaches that settlement,
 and all the subequent Tittles to those Lands derived
 therefrom, and aims at reducing those Lands into the
 Clergyes hands again. For if, as he argues, being once de-
 dicated they cannot be alienated to common use; and that
 it is a dangerous thing to meddle with any thing that hath
 given been to God, Fr. Confer. pag. 147. And again, as
 the Censers being once given to God, must remain to be his
 still, — so we may learn it ought to be in other sacred de-
 dications, — they must remain sacred still, Right of
 Tythes, pag. 117. Then seeing these Abbey Lands
 were once dedicated to God as well as Tythes, it fol-
 lows unavoidably from his Argument, that they can-
 not be alienated to common uses, but must remain sa-
 cred still. Thus we see at once both the aim of his un-
 satiable Eye, and the weakness of his Argument, which
 in my former Book, pag. 297. is detected at large,
 and the discovery thereof hath so nettled the man,
 that by way of revenge, and to vent his Anger,
 he calls me poor Quaker, flattering Quaker, double-
 tongued and false-hearted man, with more to the
 same purpose; and what I speak with reference to
 those who possess the Abbey Lands, he perverts and
 directs to the Impropriators. But he should have

considered, that his *criminating me*, doth not at all *acquit himself*. For if he will infer from my reasoning, that *I deny the Impropropriators Right to Tythes*, which I readily enough acknowledge I do, yet what is that to his *Justification*, whose Argument (if true) would strip not Impropropriators only, but all others also who possess *Abbey Lands*, or any other *Revenues* once dedicated to God and Holy Church, as the Phrase was: Yet he would *hide his own Teeth*, and smoothe the matter over, as if the Priests were the most resigned and *submissive Men* imaginable to the Law, and very good Friends to the Impropropriators. For our parts (sayes he, pag. 118. like the *Pharisees*, Luk. 18. 11.) *we do not (like the Quakers) take upon us to censure the actions of our Princes and Parliaments,—Whatever Opinions the Priests hold in this matter, they do not oppose the Laws, and go about to perswade any to take away the Impropropriators Estates from them. Do they not? Pray hear now what the Author of the Conference, in his Vindication, pag. 305. sayes, I confess that Henry 8. did alienate them (speaking of Tythes, &c.) And so did he also establish the six bloody Articles, to shew himself as ill a friend to Protestants as to Tythes: but is not this (sayes he) a wise Argument, to prove that Sacriledge may, de jure, be committed, because, de facto, it hath been committed?* Judge now, Reader, the truth of that saying of the other Priest [viz. *We do not take upon us to censure the Actions of our Princes and Parliament*] when this Priest charges Henry 8. and his Parliament with downright Sacriledge. He might have considered, that how ill a Friend soever Henry 8. was to Protestants, he was not so ill a Friend to Tythes, as the Priest represents him, since the first Statute Law ex-

rant for the payment of Tythes was made under his Reign.

But further, sayes the Author of the Right of Tythes, pag. 118. *We do not pretend Conscience to save charges, as the Quakers manner is.*

Doth he know any *Quaker* that pretends Conscience to save charges? If he does know any such, I desire he will *name him*. But if he knows no such, what has he told? If he would needs *raise a Slander on the Quakers*, could he find nothing that would have look't more likely? Do not the *Quakers* know beforehand, that if they refuse to pay Tythe, they incur the penalty of treble damage, which by that time it is levied, seldom comes to less then five or six times the single value of the Tythes demanded, besides Imprisonment? *Is this the way to save Charges?* What Reader could he expect to find out of *Bedlam* so much beside his Wits, as to receive a suggestion so utterly repugnant to common sense and reason, as this is? But to proceed.

§. 19. The Priest is troubled that Tythes are reputed of *Popish Institution*, and saith he would clear them *if he knew how*. He tryes all the wayes he can, and leaves no Stone unturned. His first attempt is to *defame me*, that my discourse might have the less acceptance: In order whereunto he tells his Reader, pag. 120. *T. E. now falls to work for the Jesuits in good earnest, labouring to make out the Pope's Title to England, by a Prescription of eight or nine Hundred Years.*

In this he is very faulty: for (besides his having represented me all along as a meer piece of Ignorance and Folly, and thereby rendred me a very unfit Agent to carry on the deep designs of those crafty and

politick Statists) he knows full well, that I labour not to make the Pope a Title to *England*; but to *raize out* all Monuments of his *usurped* Authority, that no *print* nor Foot-step may appear of his power having been exercised here by the *continuance* of any *Custom* which received either life or growth from him, *as this of Tythes did*. And since it may be *lamented*, but cannot be *denyed*, that the Papal Authority hath had *too long* as well as *too great* a sway here; whether I pray doth best become a *Protestant*, to acknowledge freely its *fulltime*, and *reject fully all its Institutions*; or to *mince* the matter, represent the time *shorter* then it was, and retain *some* of the *Popish Institutions*, which like the *Wedge of Gold* and *Babylonish Garment*, both *defile* the Camp, and *deform* the Reformation; *Popery* is now so *justly abhor'd* by the generality of *English*, that it were a vain attempt to set up any thing apparently and *avowedly Popish*. Therefore the Enemy of *true Religion* invents other wayes to *keep up Popish Institutions*, and one is to date the Rise of *Popery* so low, as may leave room to introduce or continue some *Popish Customs*, upon a pretence that they are *antecedent* to *Popery*. But he that shall duly consider the state of the Church, in and from the Apostles times, will find that the *Mystery of Iniquity*, which began to work in their dayes, hath continued working *ever since*, and in every Age successively hath brought forth *more and more* of its work. So that *Popery* was not *All* brought forth in a Day, nor in an Age, but was introduced *gradually*. And as the *true Religion* of Christ was instituted, professed and practised some time *before* it was distinguished by the Name *Christian*. So the *false Religion* was received also *before* it was denominated *Popish*:

Popish: yet this false Religion was really in its Nature *Popish*, before it obtained to be called *Popish*, as the true Religion was really in its Nature *Christian*, before it received the Name *Christian*. He therefore that will receive whatsoever he finds practised or commended in the Church before the Name of *Popery* prevailed, may be very likely to receive something which was brought forth by the working of the mystery of Iniquity, and is really and truly of the Nature of *Popery*.

But the Priest says (as he has said before, more than once) *If the Saxons in K. Ethelwolf's time were Papists, it will not follow that all their Donations are void.*

I say so too. Some of their Donations were merely civil, made by them as men and Members of a civil Society; but this of Tythes was the product of their Religion, and of that part of it wherein they were most corrupt. So that although All their Donations are not void, yet if any as all of their Donations are void, there is none which with more reason should be so then this of Tythes.

Again he says, *Suppose they were Papists in some things, yet it follows not that giving Tythes was a Popish Act; for all the Acts of Papists are not Popish.*

But I have proved that the giving of Tythes was a Popish Act, proceeding from such Motives, and attended with such Circumstances as are repugnant to true Protestant Principles.

But says he, pag. 121. *The Protestants have disputed as much and as well for Tythes, as ever the Papists did.*

If by Protestants he means his Brethren the Priests, I wonder not at all at it: Tythes are their Diana, the
Oyl

Oyl that nourishes their Lamp, pag. 13. No wonder then if *they dispute* for Tythes, and *that much too*, but *how well* let others judge. Yet commonly the Dispute ends on their parts with *Club-Law*, and in the case of Tythes an *Imprisonment* and *trebble damages* are *Ratio ultima Cleri*, the Clergy's last Argument, and many times their *first* too, but always the *strongest*, and that they most rely on.

He adds, *It is a Popish Opinion, That the Bishop of Rome can exempt men from paying Tythes.*

'Tis so indeed: but it is the subsequent of another *Popish Opinion*, That the Bishop of Rome can *injoyn* men to pay Tythes. So that the particular exemption from Tythes and the institution of Tythes are derived from *one and the same Power*. And if the payment of Tythes had not been settled and established by the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, the Opinion of his power to exempt men from paying Tythes had not prevailed as it did. But do not these *Popish* exemptions remain still among the *Protestants*? Those Lands which the Pope made *Tythe free*, are they not *Tythe free* still? What signifies that I pray? Is that an argument of the *divine Right of Tythes*? and that Tythes are due by the *moral eternal Law*? Or is it not rather a *fair intimation*, that Tythes are indeed but of *human Institution*, and that from the Bishops of Rome too? whose exemptions are in force, and observed here, even to this day.

Then he sayes, *I begun too low by far*; for if Popery came not into the Church, till about seven Hundred Years after Christ (according to T. E's proof) then Tythes were much *ancienter* then Popery; for they were paid (sayes he) and declared to be due to the Church at least five Hundred Years before.

In all this he is wrong. For first, I have proved *Popery* did come into the Church *before* seven Hundred Years after Christ, & *before* any settled payment of Tythes. Next, he neither hath proved, nor can prove by any Testimony of credit in this case, that Tythes were paid and declared to be due to the *Christian Church* at least five Hundred Years before. He may talk of the *Apostles Canons* and *Clement's Constitutions* and be laugh't at for his pains: but no Authentick evidence of *those times* can be produced to prove the payment of Tythes. The oldest of his Authors that mentions Tythes is *Origen*; who grounded his judgment on the *Levitical Law*, and thought it necessary that *that Law should stand in force according to the Letter*, which could not be consistent with *Christianity*. But although *Origen* was a learned man, yet *Perkins* says he was *Errorum plenus*, full of Errors; and *Hierom* calls his Writings, *Venenata*, Venemous: and among the rest of his Errors *Purgatory* was one, as witnesseth the same *Perkins* against *Coccius*, Probl. pag. 175. So that if he will fetch Tythes from *Origen*, he may take *Purgatory* along with them, if he please. However, he shall find that some of those Opinions which afterwards were most rightly denominated *Popish*, were by the Mystery of Iniquity brought into the Church as early as his earliest mention of Tythes, let him climb as high as he can.

§. 20. But to clear Tythes from a *Popish Institution*, he sayes, pag. 122. That most of those Doctrines which are properly called *Popery*, and which first caused and still justify the Protestants separation from Rome, were not maintained as Articles of Faith, no

not in the Church of Rome it self, at the time of this Donation, Anno 855.

Of this he gives several Instances, pag. 123. the first is this, *The Marriage of Priests was not forbidden till the time of Gregory the 7th, above two hundred years after.*

For this he cites *Polid. Virgil de ver. invent. l. 5. c. 4.* But how unfairly he has quoted his Author, and how foully he hath abused his Reader, let *Polydore's* own words shew in the place cited, where having declared how it fared with the Eastern Priests in that case, he adds, 'At occidentalibus paulatim est
'Connubium abrogatum. *Syricius enim priums sacer-*
'*dotibus et diaconis, ut ait Gratianus distinctione 82.*
'conjugio interdicat, qui circiter annum salutis huma-
'ne 387. sedere cæpit: i. e. *But Marriage was ta-*
ken from the Priests in the West by degrees. For Syri-
cius, who began to sit (in the Roman Chair) about
the year of man's Salvation 387. was the first that for-
bad Marriage to Priests and Deacons, as Gratian says
in his 82 Distinction. 'Idem instituit (says *Polydore*)
'ut quicumq; aut viduam aut secundam duxisset uxo-
'rem, ab ordine sacerdotali pelleretur; sic per hoc
'voluit ut deinceps Digamus ad officium sacerdotis
'non admittentur: i. e. *The same Syricius ordained,*
that whatsoever Priest had married a Widow or a Se-
cond Wife, should be put out of his Priesthood; so by
this he would not have any one that had had two Wives
be admitted from that time forward to the Priests Of-
fice. Then sayes he, 'Pelagius secundus deinde statu-
'it, ut subdiaconi vel uxores a se separarent, vel illis
'contenti, sacerdotiorum possessione cederent, et
'cum neutrum admisissent, iussit, ut omnino uxores,
'absc

‘abſe abnegarent: i. e. *Afterward Pelagius the ſecond* (who ſate about the year 580.) appointed that *Sub-deacons* ſhould either put their Wives from them, or contenting themſelves with them ſhould quit their Benefices; and when they would admit of neither, he commanded, that by all means they ſhould put their Wives away from them. ‘*Verum id decretum* (adds he) ‘*Gregorius qui Pelagio ſucceſſit, iniquum cenſuit,* ‘*—et ideo ſanxit, ut nullus amplius fieret ſub-* ‘*diaconus, niſi ſe caſte, victurum prius promiſſiſſet,* ‘*quo ſic cunctis legem continentiae imponderet: i. e.* But Gregory, who ſucceeded Pelagius (the ſame who ſent Auſtin the Monk over hither) thought that Decree unjuſt, — and therefore he made a Decree, that from thenceforth none ſhould be made a Sub-deacon, until he had firſt promiſed to live chaſtely; that ſo he might impoſe the Law of Continency upon them all. And ſayes Polydore, ‘*Voluit, opinor, Gregorius mi-* ‘*nores coercere, ut illorum exemplo majores ex Syricij* ‘*decreto mox ſua ſponte matrimonia ſpernerent: i. e.* Gregory, I think, was willing to reſtrain the leſſer Orders, that by their Example the greater after a while might of their own accord deſpiſe Marriage according to the Decree of Syricius. Then a little lower he adds. ‘*Ceterum non tenuit quempiam tum* ‘*primum iſta Gregoriana lex, ſicut ante Caſteſi decre-* ‘*tum non eſt ſervatum, quom idem Gratianus auctor* ‘*eſt, primum ſacerdotibus univerſis indixiſſe Celibata-* ‘*tum. Alij id Eugenio poſt Gregorium attribuunt.* ‘*Preterea illud ipſum tum Meldenſi ſynodo tum Car-* ‘*thaginenſi eſt magno omnium conſenſu ſtatutum, ſicut* ‘*in Canonicis Decretis diſtinctione 32. et 84. legimus.* ‘*Ita alijs deinq; ſuper alijs promulgatis legibus, non* ‘*ante Pontificatum Gregorij 7. qui anno ſalutis 1074.*

‘ est Pontifex creatus, conjugium adimi Occidentali-
 ‘ bus sacerdotibus potuit : i. e. *But that Law of*
Gregory’s did not at first restrain any of them, as the
Decree of Calistus before was not kept, whom the same
Gratian reports to be the first that enjoined Single Life
to all Priests. Which others attribute to Eugenius af-
ter Gregory. Moreover the very thing (viz. that
Priests should not Marry, was ordained both in the
Synod of Meldensis and Council of Carthage, with
the full consent of all, as we read in the Canonical De-
crees, Distinction 32. and 84. Thus one Law be-
ing made upon the Neck of another, Marriage could
not be taken from the Western Priests before the time of
Pope Gregory the seventh, who was made Pope in the
year of Salvation 1074. Thus Polydore. Judge now
Reader the honesty of this Priest, who brings Poly-
dore for a Witness, that the Marriage of Priests was
not forbidden till the time of Gregory the seventh,
above a thousand years after Christ; whereas Polydore
there says expressly, The Marriage of Priests was for-
bidden by Syricius about the year 387. and afterwards
by other Popes and Councils, although their Decrees
could not so far prevail as to take away Priests Mar-
riage wholly, until the time of Gregory the seventh.
But though Priests Marriage was not wholly taken a-
way before Gregory the seventh’s time, yet evident
it is, the Opinion that it ought to be taken away was re-
ceived, and according thereunto Endeavours used to
take it away many hundred years before Gregory the
seventh’s time, or King Esthelwolf’s either. The
Marriage of Priests (says Polydore) was forbidden
long before, and Laws made against it, although they
were not obeyed. The Marriage of Priests was not
forbidden (says this Priest) till the time of Gregory
the

the seventh, and brings Polydore for his Voucher. Shameless man! Is this the way to prove Tythes *antienter* than Popery? What Credit can be given to any Quotation that this man brings, who makes no Conscience of *speaking falsely*? But that Priest Marriage was indeed forbidden long before either Gregory the seventh or Ethelwolf either was born, Perkins against Coccinus plainly acknowledges; first he says, Problem pag. 190. 'Conjugium Clericorum ante trecentos a Christo annos fuit ubiq; sine interdicto, et sine voto continentiae perpetuo, liberum: i.e. *The Marriage of Priests for three hundred years after Christ, was every where free, without Interdiction, and without perpetual Vow of Continency.* Then pag. 192. 'Continentiae votum necessarium et perpetuum, videtur in occidentali Ecclesia statutum primo, et annexum ordinibus, circa annum 380. a Christo. 'Ante quidem receptum fuit, sed privata quorundam devotione, non publico Ecclesiae iudicio. Tum autem primum communi decreto (si non est fictitium decretum istud) in occidentalibus Ecclesijs interdictum dicitur conjugium Clericorum, ut impurum, a Syricio Papa: i.e. *The necessary and perpetual Vow of Continency seems to have been ordained first in the Western Church, and annexed to Orders, about the year from Christ 380. It was indeed received before, but by the private Devotion of some, not by the publick Judgment of the Church. But that is the first time that by a common Decree (if that Decree be not forged) the Marriage of Priests is said to have been forbidden by Pope Syricius in the Western Churches, as impure. And there is the more Reason to believe this Decree of Syricius genuine, because it is evident that this was the*

Opinion of those times. *Origen* above 150 years before, said, 'Videtur mihi quod illius solius est offerre sacrificium, qui indefinens et perpetuæ se devovit castitati: I think it belongs to him only to offer sacrifice, who hath devoted himself to incessant & perpetual Chastity, *Hom.* 13. upon *Numb.* Pope *Syricius* himself in an Epistle to *Himerius* Bishop of *Tarracon*, says, that 'They who are in the Flesh, that is, they who are Married, cannot please God. And *Leo* the first, in an Epistle to *Anastatius*, says, 'To set forth the purity of perfect Continency, Marriage is not allowed so much as to Sub-Deacons. By all which it appears, that Priests Marriages were denyed and forbidden in those early Ages of the Church, the Mystery of Iniquity even then working. And this being one of those Doctrines which, by his own confession, are properly called Popery, may serve to convince him of the Corruption of those times to which he refers the rise of Tythes.

His next Instance is of the *seven Sacraments*, the Number of which he says was not defined till *Peter Lombard's* Dayes, Anno 1140. He quotes *Cassander de sacramentis*.

The Book I have not, and therefore cannot examine his Quotation. But if he hath dealt in this as in the former, he is not at all to be regarded. However, if it be as he says, that the Number of the seven Sacraments was not defined till *Peter Lombard's* dayes, yet were there so many other Popish Doctrines and Opinions received in the Church long before, as sufficiently prove those times to be Popish, from which he fetches his Donation of Tythes.

Next, he says, *The Doctrine of Transubstantiation*

tion was not received for a point of Faith till the Lateran Council above one thousand two hundred years after Christ.

Although Transubstantiation was not by publick Decree imposed as an Article of Faith, until the Council of Lateran, yet was it received and believed by many some hundreds of years before. Perkins says, Problem pag. 145. 'Disputations began concerning Transubstantiation about the year 840. So that Transubstantiation it seems was a hatching before Eshelwolf's Charter for Tythes was granted. And as the Council of Lateran, somewhat after the year 1200. was the first that made Transubstantiation an Article of Faith; so the same Council of Lateran was the first general Council that decreed parochial Right to Tythes, as Selden proves in his History of Tythes, ch. 6. §. 7. and ch. 10. §. 2. towards the end. So that the general parochial payment of Tythes, and the general belief of Transubstantiation, were decreed and established at one and the same time, in one and the same General Council.

Purgatory it self (he sayes) was but a private Opinion, and affirmed only by some, Anno 1146. and Indulgences can be no older: yea, their application to Souls in Purgatory was first brought in (he says) by Boniface the eighth.

'Purgatory (saith Perkins, pag. 175.) was first received in the Church by Tertullian and Origen, who both lived about two hundred years after Christ. That it was held by Augustin also, and others of the Fathers, though in somewhat a different Notion from what it afterward obtained, he shews, p. 176, and 178. and concludes, pag. 180. 'Ergo Purgatorium, quod est inter Mortem et ultimum iudicium, quodq;

'quodq: tantum inservit expurgandis peccatis veniali-
 'bus, pænis temporalibus, non fuit receptum apud ve-
 'teres nisi forte post annum 600. i. e. *Therefore Purgatory which is between Death and the last Judgment, and which serves only to purge venial sins, and take away temporal punishments, was not received among the Antients unless happily after the year 600.* Whence by implication is granted that after the year 600. (which was two hundred and fifty years before *Ethelwolf's* Donation of Tythes) *Purgatory was received, even in this sense among the Antients.* 'Tis true, *Indulgences* can be no older then *Purgatory*, nor need they; for that is old enough to prove those times *Papish* wherein Tythes were granted. *Polydore, Vergil de Invent. Rer. l. 8. c. 1.* searching the Original of them, sayes, 'Non reperio ante fuisse, quod sciam, 'quam D. *Gregorius* ad suas stationes id præmij pro-
 'posuerit : i. e. *I do not find, so far as I know, that Indulgences were before St. Gregory proposed that Reward to his Stations : which was about the Year 600.* Then using the Testimony of the Bishop of *Rocheſter* to the same purpose, he adds, 'Atque hoc pacto
 'post *Gregorium* veniarum Seges paulatim crevit, cu-
 'jus messem non exiguam permulti interdum collige-
 'runt, &c. i. e. *And by this means after Gregories time the Crop of Pardons or Indulgences grew up by little and little, of which very many have sometimes reapt a large Harvest; and whence it appears Indulgences were in use much earlier then the Priest delivers. But to proceed, the Priest says, that the half Communion began but a little before the Council of Constance, and was never decreed till then; That the putting the Apocripha into the Canon of Scripture, and divers other points, were never decreed till the Council of Trent;*
 And

And that, if it were not to avoid prolixity, he could make it evident, That the Pope's universal Supremacy and Infallibility, Justification by the Merit of Good Works, Auricular Confession, Formal Invocation of Saints, and other Corruptions of the modern Papists, were not determined as Articles of Faith, no not in Rome itself in Ethelwolf's time.

That many, if not most of these were believed, and publicly held in the Church of Rome, long before Ethelwolf's time, is undoubted. Concerning the Pope's Supremacy, Perkins sayes, *Problem.* pag. 202. 'Primatus Domini, vel authoritationis in Romano Pontifice, ante 600. an. ignotus, publice et manifeste cæpit in Bonifacio anno 607. i.e. The Primacy of Dominion or Authority in the Pope of Rome, which was not known before the year 600. began publicly and manifestly in Boniface in the year 607. (about two hundred and fifty years before Ethelwolf's Charter.) And of Confession he sayes, pag. 180. 'Confessio auricularis, id est, confessio specialis omnium mortalium peccatorum, ad eorundem remissionem necessaria, et sacerdoti occulte facta, cepit in Ecclesia urgeri et præcipi circa annos a Christo octingentos: i.e. Auricular Confession, that is, particular Confession of all mortal sins, held necessary for the obtaining Remission of them, and which is made in private to the Priest, began to be enforced & commanded in the Church about eight hundred years after Christ (which was about fifty years before Ethelwolf's Charter.) And of Invocation of Saints, he sayes, pag. 89. 'No Invocation of the Dead can be shewed in the Church for three hundred and fifty years after Christ. Then p. 90. he says, 'This Invocation began to be brought into

‘into the use of the Catholick Church about the year
 ‘380. by common Custome and private Devotion.
 And pag. 91. he affirms, that ‘After the year 400.
 ‘the antients did commit Sin, yea, and were guilty
 ‘of Sacriledge in the Invocation of Saints; of which
 he gives many Instances full of gross Impiety, and
 then adds, pag. 94. ‘The Invocation which in former
 ‘Ages was of private Devotion began to be pub-
 ‘lick about the year 500. for then *Petrus Gnaphani*
 ‘mingled the Invocation of Saints with the publick
 ‘Prayers of the Church. For he is said to have in-
 ‘vented this, that in every Prayer the Mother of
 ‘God should be named, and her divine Name called
 ‘upon. And about the year 600. Pope *Gregory* the
 ‘great commanded a *Letany*, which was made for the
 ‘Invocation of Saints, to be sung publickly.

Thus we see that these Doctrines, which he sayes
 are properly called *Popery*, were received, held, be-
 lieved and publickly professed many a year before *Ethelwolf*
was born. And were it not to avoid pro-
 lixity, I could make it evident, that the *greatest part*
 of the Errors, Corruptions, Superstitions and Ido-
 latries of the Church of *Rome*, were received, be-
 lieved and openly maintained long before *Ethelwolf*
 made his Donation of Tythes. But suppose the par-
 ticulars he has instanced were not *determined* as Arti-
 cles of Faith in *Ethelwolf*’s time, but without any
 such *formal Determination* were received and com-
 monly believed, are they therefore not *popish*? Doth
Popery lie only in the *Determination* of them? If they
 are *Errors*, if they are *Corruptions*, if they are *Super-*
stitions, if they are *Idolatries*, after they are de-
 termined as Articles of Faith, then surely they were
 such

such before, else the bare determination of them would not have made them such. Besides, if there were Truth in what he sayes, that the particulars he has mentioned had not been determined as Articles of Faith before *Ethelwolf's* time, nor could have been *Popish* without such a determination; yet very many other Instances may be given of Doctrines and Practices properly *Popish*, sufficient to prove not the Church of *Rome* in general only, but the then Church of *England* also (which was a Member of that, and for at least seven continued Successions, received her Metropolitan Bishop out of the *Romish* Church) to be *Popish*, according to the Definition his Brother Priest has given of Popery, in his *Friendly Conference*, pag. 149.

§. 21. But to clear those times from the imputation of Popery, he undertakes to reply to the Instances I had given in my former Book. First, he sayes, *For those*, pag. 101. *the Quaker lays not much stress upon them, and there are some of them allowed by the best Protestants, and all men that understand Antiquity know those decretal Epistles to be forged, which first attributed those Constitutions to those early Popes.*

Is not this a pretty way of replying, to say his Opponent lays not much stress on them? what may one not answer after this rate? Next he sayes, *there are some of them allow'd by the best Protestants*: but which are they? why did he not distinguish betwixt those he doth allow, and those he doth not allow? The Instances were, *The use of Holy Water to drive away Devils*, said to be Instituted by *Alexander the first*. *The Consecration of Chrism once a Year*, by *Fabianus*. *That all should stand up at the Reading of the Gospel*

Gospel, by Anastatius. That Wax Tapers should be Consecrated on the holy Sabbath, by Zozimus. That Processions should be made on Sandayes, by Agapetus. Some of these, he sayes, are allowed by the best Protestants, but which they are he keeps to himself. Lastly he sayes, All men that understand Antiquity know those Decretal Epistles to be forged, which attribute those Constitutions to these early Popes. Whether those Epistles be forged or no, I will not undertake to determine; nor need I: for I delivered not those Instances upon my own Authority, but gave the Authors out of whom I gathered them, namely Falsie. Temp. Platina and Burdegalensis; to which more might be added, if need were. But suppose what he sayes, that those Decretal Epistles are forged: yet all men that understand Antiquity know that the things there instanced were in use before Ethelwolf's time, and therefore must needs be instituted before. So that his exception against the Decretal Epistles is but an idle shift: for if it should be granted that those Constitutions were not made by those early Popes to whom they are attributed, yet certain it is they were made by Popes earlier then Ethelwolf's Charter for Tythes; which is enough to prove that Popery had made her encroachments in the Church before this dear Donation and famous Charter was made. Thus we see his tripartite Answer comes to just nothing; and doubtless he spake considerately when he said, pag. 324. I will content myself to Reply to the Quaker's Instances; for it can hardly be supposed he could expect by this Reply to content any body but himself.

But perhaps he look't upon those things as too immaterial to deserve his notice, and therefore contented himself to pass over them as lightly as he could;

as before he did *Ethelwolf's* being *absolved* from his *Vows* by the *Pope*, going on *Pilgrimage* to *Rome*, and making such liberal *Donations* to uphold *Superstition* there. But now that he comes to instances which he accounts *more material*, it is to be hoped he will give a *more material* Reply. First, saith he, concerning *deposing of Kings*, T. E. saith, *Pope Zachary*, took upon him to *depose K. Chilperick*, and *absolved his Subjects* from their *allegiance*. This (he sayes) is a *Forgery* invented by the *Champions* of the *Pope's Supremacy*, but *denyed* by the *French*, who do assure us, that the *deposing of K. Chilperick* was done by *Pipin himself*, by the consent of the whole *Kingdom of France*, before any notice was given to the *Pope* about it, pag. 125.

That the Reader may be the more able to judge of the Truth of this matter, I will give him the words of the Authors themselves by whom it is delivered (so many of them as I have by me, which are but a few in respect of the many by whom this passage is recounted.) First therefore the Author of *Fascic. Temp.* (ad annum 744.) sayes thus of *Pope Zacharias*, 'Ipse Regem Francorum, scilicet Hylderickum, deposuit, & in locum ejus Pippinum instituit, quia utilior fuit. Et hic patet potestas Ecclesie quanta fuerit hoc tempore qui regnum illud famosissimum transtulit de veris hæredibus ad genus Pippini, propter legitimam cau'am. i. e. He deposed the King of France, namely Hylderick, and set Pippin in his place, because he was more useful. And here (sayes he) it appears how great the power of the Church was in this time, in that he Translated the most famous Kingdom from the true Heirs to the Race of Pippin, for a lawful cause. *Platina*, though he mentions not the *deposing of Childerick*, yet the setting up of *Pippin* by

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the

the Pope he does in these words, 'At Pipinu reg-
 'nandi cupidus, legatos suos ad Pontificem mittit,
 'cumque rogat, ut Regnum *Francia* sibi auctoritate
 'sua confirmet. Amittit Pontifex ejus postulatis,—
 'atque ita ejus auctoritate regnum *Francia* Pipino ad-
 'judicatur. i. e. But Pipin having a desire to Reign
 sends his Ambassadors to the Pope, and intreats him to
 confirm the Kingdom of France to him BY HIS AU-
 THORITY. The Pope grants his requests, and so
 BY HIS AUTHORITY the Kingdom of France was
 adjudged to Pipin. *Burdegalensis* sayes of Pope Za-
 chary (*Chronograph. l. 2. ad annum 741.*) 'Hic pri-
 'mus cepit *Francos* juramento fidelitatis absolvere;
 i. e. This Pope was the first that absolved the French
 from their Oath of Allegiance: For which he quotes
Emil. lib. 2. And a little after, of Childerick he
 hath these words, 'Childerico *Francorum* Rege in
 'Monasterium truso, Pipinus — concilio Pontificis a
 'Gallia Proceribus Rex declaratur et a S. Bonifacio
 '— *Germanorum* Apostolo inungitur. i. e. Chil-
 derick the French King being thrust into a Monastery,
 Pipin is by the counsel of the Pope declared King by the
 Nobility of France, and anointed by St. Boniface the
 Apostle of the Germans. John Fox in his Book of
 Martyrs, Vol. I. pag. 116. hath it thus, "By the
 "Autherity of the said Arch-Bishop Boniface, which
 "he received from Pope Zachary, Childericus King
 "of France was deposed from the right of his Crown,
 "and Pipinus the betrayer of his Master was confirm-
 "ed or rather intruded in. Perkins against Coccinus,
 preb. pag. 223. sayes, 'Depositio Childerici *Franc-*
 '*orum* Regis fuit a Proceribus et Populo consilium
 'vero deponendi, Papæ fuit. i. e. The deposing of
 Childerick the French King, was done by the Nobles
 and

and People; but the Counsel that he should be deposed, was given by the Pope. He quotes there *Sabellicus*, *Blondus*, and from him *Alcuinus*, *Paulus* and many others, all agreeing that *Childerick* was deposed by the counsel of the Pope. Did all these combine to invent a Forgery? or were all these Champions of the Pope's Supremacy; some whereof were Protestants? The Priest says *Chilperick* was deposed before any notice was given to the Pope about it, and that he did only approve of the deed after it was done, pag. 125.

But besides Popish Authors, *Fox* says he was deposed by the Popes Authority: And *Perkins*, though he makes the act of deposing to be the Peoples, yet he acknowledges the Pope advised them thereunto; both which must be false, if what the Priest says be true. But *Perkins* proves by divers Witnesses of credit, that The Pope's counsel was first had [*Zacharia Romano Pontificie PRIUS consulto*] before *Childerick* was deposed, or *Pipin* made King. So that I conclude the Priest wrong in saying, it was done before any notice was given to the Pope about it. But of that let the Reader judge.

He offers another Evidence against this deposition of *Childerick* by the Pope's Authority, which is part of an Epistle from *Hinc-marus* Arch-Bishop of *Rhemes* to Pope *Adrian* the second, who (he says) had written to him to Excommunicate the King of *France*. The words he gives thus, *There was never any such precept before sent from Rome to any of my Predecessors*, pag. 125.

That might be without any injury to the former Relation of *Childerick's* being deposed by the Pope. For *Fox* says he was deposed by the Authority of *Boniface* Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, which he received from

from the Pope. Now this *Boniface* had a *power Legantine* from the Pope, and is called by *Burdegalensis* the *Apostle of the Germans*: So that it may very well be that the Pope by this *Legate* of his might depose the *French King*, and yet send no precept about it to the *Arch-Bishop of Rhemes*, who were *Hinc-Marius* his predecessors. But however from these very words of *Hinc-Marius* it is evident, that *Pope Adrian* took upon him to *Excommunicate* the *King of France*, however he succeeded in it. And from another clause in the same *Epistle* there is great ground to suspect, that he purposed to *depose* as well as *Excommunicate* him, and to set up another in his stead: Why else doth *Hinc-Marius*, in the Name of the *French*, say there, 'Let him not command us *Franks* to serve him that we will not serve?' Hence I think may well be gathered that the Pope did not only require the *Arch-Bishop of Rhemes* to *Excommunicate* the *French King*, but also commanded the *French Men* or *Franks* to *serve another*; which sufficiently shews how much the Popes *even then* took upon them, although the *Franks* would not so lose their King.

But he says, *There is as little Truth in Gregory the third's deposing of Leo Isaurus about Images*, pag. 126.

The very words of *Platina* in the *Life of Gregory the third*, are these, 'Hic statim ubi Pontificatum iniit, Cleri Romani consensu, Leonem tertium Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum imperio simul et communione fidelium privat; quod sanctas imagines e sacris ædibus abraisit, & statuas demolitus esset, &c. i. e. He, as soon as he was made Pope, with the consent of the Roman Clergy, *Excommunicates Leo the third, the Emperor of Constantinople*, and *withal deprives him of his Empire*, because he had raised the
holy

holy Images out of the Churches, and had demolished the Statues. Fox sayes, vol. 1. pag. 116. Leo was Excommunicated by Gregory the third. And Perkins, pag. 210. quotes *August. Stench. cont. vallam* in these words, '*Gregorius tertius Excommunicavit Leonem, & ab ejus Imperio Romam Italianque avertit, omnibus juramento fidelitatis absolutis.* i. e. Gregory the third Excommunicated Leo, and withdrew Rome and Italy from his Government, setting them all free from their Oath of Allegiance. From these Testimonies whether Gregory the third, did depose the Emperor Leo or not, let the Reader judge. Besides, this same Emperor had been *Anathematized* before by Pope Gregory the second, as the Author of *Fasciculus Temporum* affirms, who also notes (*ad annum, 714.*) that 'About those times the Popes began to set themselves against the Emperors more then ordinarily, even in temporal matters, and to transfer the Empire from one Nation to another, as the time required.

The next instance of Popery which he carps at is, the worship of Images, which he sayes, pag. 128. is another manifest Slander, not that the Saxons had no Images, for that he acknowledges they had, but sayes, they had them only for Ornament, Memory, Reverence and Example, but not for Worship, pag. 129.

Perkins shewing the gradual Introduction of Images, sayes, *Problem.* pag. 77. 'They were not used otherwise then for Ornament for three Hundred & Eighty Years after Christ. Then pag. 78. about the Year 400. the Historical use of them began to come up, not in private Houses only, but also in the Churches of the Christians. But (adds he) as Superstition increased, the worshipping of Images took

' took place, yet it was not received by Learned and
 ' Godly Men, nor were Images set forth to be wor-
 ' shipped openly before the Year 600. And if
 (sayes he) ' the Worship of Images gained ground
 ' any where before these times, it was not among the
 ' Learned, but the superstitious People. But after
 the Year 600. the Worship of Images grew more
 common, especially among the common People, who
 by *Superstition* were easily led into *Idolatry*. And
 although upon the second Council of *Nice's* *Decree-*
ing the Worship of Images, a Book was written con-
 tradictory thereunto, and a Synod holden at *Frank-*
ford where in the Acts of that Council were condem-
 ned, yet was not that Synod clear in the case of Ima-
 ges: for it condemned the Council of *Constantinople*
 also held a little before under the Emperor *Coprony-*
mus for the abolishing of Images, and as *Beckins* ob-
 serves went a middle way between that and the Coun-
 cil of *Nice*, giving a *certain* veneration to Images,
 which was at least *Superstition* and *Popery*. But for
 the Church of *Rome* it self, of which the *Saxon* Church
 was a *Member*, with which it was in *Communion*,
 and to which it was in *subjection*, if we inquire how
 it stood with her in those times, with respect to *Image-*
worship, *Fox* in his *Martyrol.* vol. 1. pag. 116, and
 117. tells us, ' That not only Pope *Gregory* the se-
 ' cond and third, with Pope *Zacharias* and *Constan-*
 ' *tine* the first, wrought great Masteries against the
 ' *Greek* Emperors, *Philippicus* and *Leo* and others, for
 ' the maintaining of Images to be set up in Churches:
 but also that ' Pope *Paul* the first, thundred out
 ' great Excommunications against *Constantine* the
 ' Emperor of *Constantinople*, for abrogating and
 ' plucking down Images set up in Temples; And that
 ' *Stephen*

‘*Stephen the third, not only maintained the filthy Idolatry of Images in Christian Temples, but also advanced their Veneration, commanding them most ethuically to be increased, &c. This was about One Hundred Years before Ethelwolf’s Donation of Tythes; and if the Church of Rome, which was then the Mother Church to England, was so Idolatrous then, what may we think she was in Ethelwolf’s time, one Hundred Years after? and what may we suppose that King himself to be, who was so great an Admirer of her, and bountiful Benefactor to her!*

He says, Thirdly, *I instance in Miracles and Intercession of Saints, taxing Bede with these points of Popery, and the Saxons of his time. To this, says he, pag. 131. I reply, That if the belief of Miracles make men Papists, then T. E. and his Quakers are all Papists; for they believe they are immediately taught, which is a stranger and greater Miracle than any they can find in all Bede’s History.*

What a miserable shift is this! Is this Reasoning? or Railing? would any man, that had either a good Cause or good parts, have shewed so much weakness to give a meer Quibble instead of a solid Reply! In his 28 Sect. pag. 161. He charges me (though very unjustly, as in its place, c. 5. S. 4. I have shewed) with evading all serious Answers by some petty Cavil. Judge now Reader, if himself be not here guilty, of what he there charges upon me. Hath he not in this very place evaded a serious Answer by a petty Cavil? But this is an usual way with him, when he is hard set, and willing to avoid the matter. I alledged that long before Ethelwolf was Born, Popery had made her encroachments in the Church, among many instances whereof that I brought, one was the belief

of *strange kind* of Miracles wrought by the *Relicks* of *Popish* Saints; nor only so, but by the *Wood* of the *Cross*, and by *Holy Water* also: This I proved by divers quotations out of the Ecclesiastical History of *Beda* the *Saxon*. To which, after his prophane Jest, he replies, *It is not unlikely but some extraordinary Miracles might be wrought at the first Conversion of the Saxons, the more easily to Convince that rugged People; and the want of human learning in that Age, might occasion the credulous reception of more then was true; and yet we must not condemn them presently for Papists, ibid.*

He that will take the pains to read *Beda's* History (particularly his third Book, 2, 11, 13, and 15. Chap. and his fifth Book, 4. Chap.) may there find relation of Miracles as palpably *Popish* as any in the *Roman Legend*. And if it should be granted, that Miracles were then wrought to Convince that People, it must be supposed that those Miracles (if wrought by the Power of God) were wrought to Convince them of the *true* Faith and Worship of God, and to establish them in it. But the Miracles mentioned in those Chapters of *Beda's* History to which I have above refer'd, tend not to the setting up of the *true* Worship of God, but a *false* Worship, even the Worship of the Church of *Rome*, in the veneration and adoration of *Relicks* of *Popish* Saints, of the *Wood* of the *Cross*, of *Holy Water*, and of consecrated Oyl, which all men know to be a part (and a corrupt part too) of the present *Romish* Religion. So that in these things the *Saxon* Church then appears to have been in the same condition, in which the Church of *Rome* both then was and now is.

He says, *They might be credulous and apt to be imposed*

posed upon, but that was their infirmity, and amounts but to Superstition, not to Popery, *ibid.*

He forgets his Brother's Definition of Popery, Friendly Confer. pag. 149. That is is such Doctrines and SUPERSTITIOUS Practices, which by the corruption of time have prevailed in the Church of Rome, contrary to the true, ancient, Catholick and Apostolick Church. So that if those things recorded by Bede, to be wrought and believed by and among the Saxons, were such *superstitious* practices, as by the corruption of time have prevailed in the Church of Rome, contrary to the true, ancient, Catholick, and Apostolick Church, then they are Popery, and they by and amongst whom they were so wrought, believed and received were *Papists*; but no Protestant I hope will deny the instances above given to be *superstitious Practices*, to have prevailed in the Church of Rome through the corruption of time, and to be contrary to the true, ancient, Catholick and Apostolick Church. Besides, if (as he sayes) they might be credulous, and apt to be imposed upon, and so could be excused (as he would have them) upon the score of their Infirmity; yet who I pray were they that took the advantage of their credulity, and did impose upon them? were they not their Priests? their Clergy? and what were they mean while? If the People were credulous and easie to be beguiled and imposed upon; the Priests were not less crafty and ready to impose upon them and beguile them. But was not this the same Priest-hood to which Tythes were afterwards given; who thus imposed upon the credulous People, and deluded them with lying Wonders?

As for Intercession of Saints, he sayes, If I mean

that the Saxons prayed to the Saints as their Intercessors with God, I do egregiously wrong them, pag. 132.

About what time the Opinion of the *Intercession of Saints* was received in the Church, and how understood, *Perkins* in his *Problem* of the Church of Rome, pag. 87. &c. shews, 'First, (he sayes) it 'was altogether unknown in the Church of God for 'the space of two Hundred Years after Christ. After which time *Origen* (he sayes) and other Fathers disputed concerning the Saints Intercession for us, but very diversly and doubtfully, untill the 'Year 400. From that time it seems to have been a received Opinion. For the *Ancients*, he sayes, pag. 89. teach that the Saints do interceed, not only openly by Praying, but interpretatively also by meriting or deserving; of which he there gives many instances, and concludes that among the *Ancients*, the Saints are made immediate Intercessors to God for us. From this belief of the Saints Intercession, sprang the custom of Invocation or Praying to Saints, which *Perkins* shews was not in the Church for three Hundred and Fifty Years after Christ, but began to creep in about the Year 380. and after the Year 400. he sayes, the *Ancients* sinned, and were guilty of Sacrilege in praying to the Saints, of which he gives many Instances, some whereof shew that the Saints were prayed to as Intercessors to God, yea, as Mediators between God and Man. For *Paulinus* in *natali*. 3. in *Faliscem*, sayes, 'Exora, ut 'precibus plenis Meritisque redonet Debita nostra 'tuis. i. e. Pray (O *Felix*) that he would forgive us our Sins for the sake of thy full Prayers and Merits. And *Fortunatus* in *vita Martini* lib. 2. thus intreats *Martin*, 'Inter me et Dominum Mediator ad esto 'benigne.

'benigne. i. e. *Be thou* (O Martin) a *favourable*
Mediator between the Lord and me. Nor was this O-
 pinion of the *Intercession* of the Saints, and conse-
 quently the custom of *praying to the Saints*, the
 private Belief and Practice only of some, but the
 same *Perkins*, pag. 94. tells us, that 'The Invo-
 cation which in former Ages was of private de-
 votion, began to be publick about the Year 500.
 'for then, sayes he, *Petrus Gnaphani* mixed the In-
 vocation of Saints with the publick Prayers of the
 Church; for he is said to have invented this, that
 'in every Prayer the Mother of God should be na-
 med, and her divine Name called upon: and *Gre-*
 gory the great (adds he) about the Year 600. com-
 manded that a Letany of Prayers to Saints should
 'be sung publickly: This is spoken of the Church in
 general. Now concerning the Church in this Nati-
 on, it is to be noted that this is that *Gregory* who sent
 over *Austin the Monk to Plant the Romish Religion*
here, and whose Successors for many Years after had
 the ordering of the *English Church*, and making
 Bishops in it, and for the space of one Hundred and
 Fifty Years at least, the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury*
 were *Italians* or other Forreigners of the Popes pla-
 cing. How those *Italian Prelates*, that came out of
 the Bosom of the *Roman Church*, did form the
 Church here, I leave to the Readers judicious consi-
 deration; adding only, to shew the devotion of the
English then to the *Roman Church*, that *Beda* in his
Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 5. sayes, 'Oswi King of *Northum-*
 berland was so greatly in love with the *Roman* and
 'Apostolical Institution, that had he recovered of an
 'Infirmity whereof he died, he intended himself
 'to have gone to *Rome*, and there to have ended his
 'dayes,

' dayes, as *Ina*, *Offa*, *Kenredus*, with other of the
 Kings of this Land afterward did in *Monkish Orders*,
 as *Fox* reports. And that *Stow* in his *Annals*, pag.
 157. speaking of the *English Monks* unwillingness to
 change their manner of singing, *which they had re-*
ceived from Rome, sayes, [As they that had been
 ever used not only in this, but in other service of the
 Church to follow the manner of the *Roman Church*.]
 Now inasmuch as the Church of *Rome* did pray to
 Saints as their Intercessors with God, and the then
 Church of *England* was in subjection to the Church of
Rome, and had the *Roman Church* in so great veneration
 and esteem: since the same Pope *Gregory* that
 sent *Austin* to set up the *Papish* Worship here, did
 appoint a Letany of Prayers to Saints to be sung pub-
 licly; and since it appears by *Bede* and others, that
 the Opinion and Belief of the *Saints Intercession* was
 received and held by the *Saxons* in those times, what
 reason can there be to doubt of the *Saxons* praying to
 Saints, as their Intercessors with God? If they be-
 lieved them *Intercessors at all*, with whom could they
 think they interceded but with God? And if they
 believed they interceded with God for them, what
 should hinder their praying to them as their *Interces-*
sors with God? especially seeing that Church from
 which they received both Doctrine and Discipline
 did so. But a passage there is in *Bede's Eccles. Hist.*
 l. 5. c. 22. from which the judgment of the *Saxon*
 Church, in the point of Intercession and Mediation
 of Saints, may pretty well be guessed at, ' *Adam-*
 ' *nan* a *Scotch-Abbat* coming Ambassadour into *Eng-*
 ' *land* about the Year 720. visited the *Abbey of Wire*
 ' in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, of which *Ceolfride*
 ' was then *Abbat*. The *Scot* it seems had the wrong
 ' cut

'cut on his Crown, not after the Mode of *St. Peter*,
 'but after the fashion of *Simon Magus*; which the
 'English Abbat observed, and reproved the *Scots* for.
 'He excused it by the custom of his Country, pro-
 'testing that although he was Shorn like *Simon Ma-*
 '*gus*, yet in his Heart he abhorred *Simon's* Infidelity,
 'and desired to follow the steps of the blessed Prince
 'of the Apostles *St. Peter*: To which the English
 'Abbat replied, That as he desired to follow *St. Pe-*
 '*ter's* Deeds or Admonitions, so it became him to
 'imitate his manner of Habit, whom he desired to
 'have for his Advocate with God the Father [*quem*
 '*apud Deum patrem habere Patronum quaris*] or, as
 Fox renders it, *Whom you desire to have a Mediator*
between God and you. On which word [*Mediator*]
 Fox in his Margin, (vol. I. pag. 114.) gives this
 Note, *There is but one Mediator between God and*
Man, Christ Jesus; plainly shewing he understood
 by this Sentence, the Saxons made other Mediators
 between God and Man, besides Christ Jesus. But
 leaving this to the Reader's censure, I proceed.

The Priest says, pag. 132. *There is but one thing*
more wherein the present Church of Rome is charged
with Idolatry, and that is in adoring the Host or Body
of Christ, (which they say is Transubstantiate) in the
Sacrament; but neither in this (says he) were the
Saxons guilty, for they did not believe Transubstanti-
ation, no nor in K. Edgar's days, An. 975.

He said before, pag. 123. the Doctrine of Tran-
 substantiation was not received for a point of Faith
 till the *Lateran Council*, above one Thousand two
 Hundred Years after Christ; No wonder then if it
 were not believed by the Saxons. But that will not
 acquit the *English-Saxon Church* from the charge of
 Idolatry,

Idolatry, any more then it will the Church of *Rome*, which hath been by many sufficiently convicted of Idolatry long before that *Lateran Council* in the Year 1215. wherein *Transubstantiation* was made a point of Faith. And though the Priest sayes, This is the only thing more wherein the present Church of *Rome* is charged with Idolatry: yet doubtless he must be very forgetful, or much too favourable to the *Roman* Church. For *Rainolds*, de *Romane Ecclesia Idolatria*, against *Bellarmino* and others of the *Papish* Patrons, doth charge the Church of *Rome* downright with Idolatry, not only in the worshipping of *Saints*, *Images*, and the *Sacrament* of the *Eucharist*; but of *Relicks* also, and of *Water*, *Salt*, *Oyl*, and other *Consecrated things*, which out of the *Papists* own Books he proves in the assumption of his Argument, l. 2. c. 1. And that the *Saxons* followed the Church of *Rome* in these things, is too well known to be denied.

§. 22. *More Instances*, he sayes, he could give to prove that the *Saxons* were like the *Protestants* in the most fundamental matters; but that two shall suffice at present. 1. of the merit of good Works. 2. of the Canon of Scripture. For the first of these, he offers some sentences out of *Bede* and *Alcuin* against the merit of Works, which, if faithfully given, may serve to shew the judgment of those particular Men, but are not sufficient to prove the general received Opinion of those times, much less of the after times wherein *Ethelwolf* lived and gave Tythes; for *Bede* dyed in the Year 735. (120. Years before *Ethelwolf's* Donation) as the Epitome of his Ecclesiastical History shews; and *Alcuin* was one of *Bede's* Hearers, as *Burdegalensis* testifies. And if the private judgment of

of some particular Men be made the measure of the general Opinion, he may thereby excuse the Church of Rome all along from this and other unsound Doctrines, since there is scarce a Century wherein some or other have not delivered themselves contrary to the common received Opinions of that Church. Stephen Gardiner himself in *Q. Mary's* dayes, discovered to Dr. Day Bishop of Winchester how he understood the Doctrine of free Justification by Christ, as out of the Book of Martyrs is noted before, yet no man I think will question whether the Church was then *Popish* or no, or whether the *Popish* Doctrine of merits was not then commonly and generally received. That very Pope Leo the fourth, whom Ethelwolf went in such devotion to see, towards whom he was so liberal, and to whom he committed his Son Alfred to be brought up, being ready to joyn Battle with the Saracens at Ostia, thus prayed, O God whose right Hand lifted up St. Peter, that he was not drowned when he walked upon the Waves, and delivered the Apostle Paul from the bottom of the Sea in his third Shipwrack, hear us favourably, and for the MERITS OF THEM BOTH grant, &c. Plat. in vita. Leon. 4. li. But what the common Opinion was of the merit of good Works among the Saxons, may be collected from the Tenour of the Charters of their Religious endowments, which as they often sprang from some flagitious Wickedness, so they usually declare the intendment of the gift to be for the Salvation or Redemption of the Donors Soul, or for the Remission of his and his Ancestors sins, or some such-like Expression as plainly imports an expiation or satisfaction for Sin. And that this is not my judgment only, but that they were thus understood by men of note in

former times, hear the judicious *Camden*, who in his *Brittania*, pag. 262. speaking of a Monastery founded by *Q. Alfrith*, saith, '*Q. Alfrith* Built a Monastery to EXPIATE and make SATISFACTION for that most foul and hainous Fact, wherewith so wickedly she had charged her Soul by making away *K. Edward* her Husbonds Son; as also to wash out the Murthering of her former Husband *Aethelred*, &c. And elswhere (pag. 254.) speaking of *Ambrbury* in *Wiltshire*, he saith, 'In that place afterward *Alfritha K. Edgar's* Wife, by Repentance and some good deed to EXPIATE and make SATISFACTION for Murthering of *K. Edward* her Son in Law, built a stately Nunnery, &c. And *Fox* in his *Acts of the Church*, Vol 1. pag. 120. enumerating the many Religious Houses that were built in *England* in the sixth, seventh, and eighth Centuries, hath these words thereupon, 'Thus ye see what Monasteries, and in what time, begun to be founded by the *Saxon* Kings, newly converted to the *Christian* Faith, within the space of two Hundred Years; who, as they seemed then to have a certain zeal and devotion to Godward, according to the leading and teaching that then was: so it seemeth again to me two things to be wished in these foresaid Kings; first, that they which begun to erect these Monasteries——had foreseen the danger, &c.——secondly, that unto this their Zeal and Devotion had been joyned like Knowledge and Doctrine in *Christ's* Gospel, especially in the Article of our free Justification by the Faith of *Jesus Christ*; because of the *LAC* K whereof, as well the Builders and Founders thereof, as they that were professed in the same, seem both to have run
the

' the **WRONG** way, and to have been **DECEI-**
 ' **VED**. For albeit in them there was a Devotion
 ' and Zeal of mind, — yet the end and cause of their
 ' Deeds and Buildings cannot be excused, being con-
 ' trary to the Rule of Christ's Gospel, for so much
 ' as they did these things seeking **MERITS** with
 ' God, and for **REMEDY** of their Souls, and **RE-**
 ' **MISSION** of their Sins, as may appear testified in
 ' their own Records, &c. Thus he. Whence its
 plain that he (who undertook to write an History
 of the Acts and Monuments of the Church, and may
 well be thought to understand something of those
 times as well as this Priest) concluded that although
 the Saxons in those dayes (whom the Priest so
 often calls his *pious* Ancestors, and *famous* Tythe-gi-
 vers) were Zealous according to the *teaching that*
then was, yet they had not the *true knowledge*
 and Doctrine of Christ's Gospel, especially in the
 point of *justifi-ation*, but for *lack* thereof were *de-*
ceived, and ran the *wrong* way, seeking *remedy* of
 their Souls, and *remission* of their Sins, by the *merits*
 of their *works*. And for proof that they so did, Fox
 there sets down the *very same* Charter of Ethelbald
 which this Priest brings to prove the Right of
 Tythes, pag. 94. which Charter being by Fox set
 down, in the place fore-cited, toward the end of his
 second Book, he there adds as followeth, ' By the
 ' contents hereof, sayes he, may well be understood
 ' (as where he saith, *Pro amore celestis patriæ, pro-*
 ' *remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, et absolutio-*
 ' *ne delictorum*, &c. i. e. For the love of the Hea-
 ' venly Country, for the remedy of my Soul, for
 ' the delivering of my Soul, and for the pardon of
 ' my Sins, &c.) how great the **IGNORANCE** and

' BLINDNESS of these men, was, who lacking no
 ' Zeal, only LACKED KNOWLEDGE to rule it
 ' withal: seeking their Salvation NOT BY CHRIST
 ' ONLY, but by their OWN DESERVINGS and
 ' MERITORIOUS deeds. And the same Fox but
 two pages further, entring upon the Reign of King
Ethelwolf, sayes, ' This *Ethelwolf* (as being himself
 ' once muzzled in that order) was alwayes good and
 ' devout to Holy and Religious orders, insomuch that
 ' he gave to them the Tythe of all his Goods and
 ' Lands in *West-Saxony*, with liberty and freedom
 ' from all servage and civil charges. Whereof this
 ' Charter instrument beareth Testimony after this
 ' tenor proceeding, much like to the Doration of
 ' *Ethelbald* above mentioned. Then reciting the
 Charter (even that very Charter so hug'd, and so
 extol'd by these Priests) and therein finding these
 words [*Pro remissione animarum et peccatorum nostro-*
rum. i. e. For the deliverance of our Souls, and the
 remission of our Sins] he adds, ' Hereby it may ap-
 ' pear, how and when the Churches of *England* be-
 ' gan first to be indued with Temporalities and Lands;
 ' also with Priviledges and Exemptions enlarged:
 ' moreover (and that which specially is to be consider-
 ' ed and LAMENTED) what PERNICIOUS Do-
 ' ctrin: was this, wherewith they were led, thus to set
 ' REMISSION of their SINS, & REMEDY of their
 ' Souls, in this Donation and such other deeds of
 ' their Donation, CONTRARY to the information
 ' of God's word, and no small derogation to the
 ' Cross of Christ. Thus far Fox; which I have set
 down the more largely that the Reader may see what
his judgment was of the Religion of those times,
 wherein this Donation of Tythes was made; and
 may

may himself be the better able to judge, whether I here wronged the People and Clergy of those times in calling them *Papists*.

The Priest's next and last instance of the *Saxons* not being *Papists*, is their *keeping the Canon of Scripture entire, and rejecting the Apocrypha from being of divine Authority*.

But this (*if they did so*) will not clear them from being *Papists*, since many of the Church of *Rome*, yea, some of the *Cardinals* have done the like, as *Perkins* shews, *Prob.* pag. 48. And if it be true that he himself says, pag. 123. that the putting the *Apocrypha* into the *Canon of Scripture*, was never decreed till the *Council of Trent*, about a *Hundred and Ten Years ago*, then before that time the Church of *Rome* itself had not the *Apocrypha* in the *Canon of Scripture*, any more then the *Saxons* had; and yet I think he will not say the Church of *Rome* was not *Popish* or *Idolatrous* before the *Council of Trent*.

In the close of this Section he says, *Finally, if T. E. have either shame or grace, let him Repent of this foul Slander, which he hath as falsely as maliciously cast upon our fore-Fathers the pious Saxons—But if T. E. will not Recant, I shall leave it to the Reader to judge of his ignorance and impudence*, pag. 135.

Because there is nothing in this but *Scurrility*, and *Railing* instead of *Reason*, I intend no Reply to it: but will take notice of another passage or two in the same page.

S. 23. First, he says, *The Saxons were more Orthodox in SOME points than Rome it self then was.*

A goodly commendation! Was *Rome* it self so *Orthodox* then in his account, that he makes her the
Standard

Standard to measure others by? *Rome it self* no doubt was somewhat less corrupt then then in after Ages she grew to be; yet he that with an impartial Eye shall view the state of the *Romish Church* in those times, will find her *far enough from being Orthodox*. And if the *Saxon Church* was not in ALL points so depraved as *Rome it self* then was, yet was she also too unsound in Faith to be reputed Orthodox. But secondly, the Saxons, sayes he, differed from the present Papists in all the most material Articles of Faith, being nearer in Opinion to the Protestant Church of England.

It seems then they are not one with the Protestant Church of England, but only nearer in Opinion to it, then to the present Papists. Yet in pag. 102. he says, *The Clergy of that Age were Gods only publick Ministers*; and pag. 112. he makes no doubt but they were the right Ministers of God: which if they were, how comes it that they were not positively one with the Protestant Church of England, but only nearer to it, then to the present Papists? But where in were they nearer to the Protestant Church of England then to the present Papists? Not, I hope in their *shaven Crowns*, not in their *Monkish Life*, not in their *Vows of continency*, not in their going on *Pilgrimages*, not in their belief of *Purgatory*, not in their praying for the Dead, not in their sacrificing for the Dead, not in the worshipping of Relicks, not in the praying to Saints, not in saying *Alass*, not in *Latine service*, not in *auricular Confession*, not in *extream Unction*, not in the use of *Chrism*, not in the use of *Holy Water* to drive away Devils, or of consecrated Oyl to allay Storms and Tempests. In these, I trow, and such like things as these, they were nearer the present

present *Papists* then the *Protestant Church of England*. But thirdly, *He charges me with ignorance and impudence, in supposing the Church so much corrupted with Popery then, that their very Donations were not fit to stand good or be enjoyed, no not by a Protestant Ministry.*

No sure, not by a *Protestant Ministry* of all other: for since it is denominated *Protestant* from protesting against *Popery*, what can be more unsuitable to it, then to subsist by a *Donation* which was made to uphold that which it hath protested against. By a *Protestant Ministry* he means, no doubt, a true Gospel Ministry, the nature and qualifications whereof if he rightly understood, he would not think that such a Ministry hath a greater liberty to enjoy a *Popish Donation* then another, but a less: in as much as such a Ministry ought more especially to abstain, not only from known and certain Evil, but even from every appearance of Evil; and not only to avoid the works of the Flesh, but to hate even the Garment spotted with the Flesh. So that I account the Church so corrupted with *Popery* then, that their Donations of Tythes are not fit to be enjoyed by any Ministry at all, much less by a *Protestant Ministry*.

That the Church then was indeed greatly corrupted with *Popery*, is evident by the many instances given of Doctrines and Practices received and held therein, which beyond all contradiction have through the corruption of time prevailed in the Church of Rome contrary to the true, ancient, Catholick and Apostolick Church: Nor is it likely it should be otherwise, if we consider the Constitution of the Church here in those times. For when *Austin* the Monk came hither from Rome, and found some reception here, he sent to the
Pope

Pope for advice and direction how to form, settle, & govern that Church which he then was gathering; and *from the Pope* he received Instructions in all particulars he desired to be informed in. *From the Pope* he received the Power he here exercised, and the *Pall* of his Arch-Bishoprick, as his Successors generally did. And the Religion and Worship which he brought with him *from Rome*, grew by degrees to be the *general* Religion and Worship of the Nation. For although the Profession of *Christianity* had been in this Island *long before Austin* came hither, yet had it been much *deprest* by *Heathenism*, and the remains of it shortly after *extinguished* by *Austin* and his Sectators. *Austin* being dead, his Successors for a long time after were such, as the succeeding *Popes* sent over hither, *Fox* reckons them in this order *Lauren-*

Bed. l. 3. c. 29. *tinus, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deusdedit*; which last being dead, *Oswi* and *Egbert*, Kings of *Northumberland* and *Canterbury*, sent *Wighard* a *Presbyter* to *Rome* (with great Gifts and Presents of Silver and Golden Vessels to *Pope Vitalianus*) to be by him ordained Arch-Bishop; but he delivering his Message and Presents to the *Pope* died at *Rome* before he could be consecrated; whereupon the *Pope* writes a Letter to King *Oswi*, commending his zeal and care, and sends him some Relicks of the Apostles *Peter & Paul*, & of other Saints (as he calls them) and to the Queen his Wife the *Pope* sent a *Cross* with a golden Nail in it: withal he acquaints the King, that so soon as he could find a Man fit for the place, he would not fail to send him an Arch-Bishop. Accordingly, after much inquiry

l. 4. c. 1. *Theodorus* at length was found; but he being Born at *Tharsus* of *Cilicia*, had his
Crown

Crown clipt after the Eastern manner, in imitation (as they pretended) of St. Paul, so that he was fain to wait four Moneths till his Hair was grown, that he might have the right cut as they accounted it; that done he was ordained Arch-Bishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalianus, and soon after he set forward for England accompanied with Adrian and other Monks, about the Year 668. This is that Theodorus who Fox sayes was sent into England by the Pope, and with him divers other Monks of Italy to set up here in England Latine Service, Masses, Ceremonies, Letanies, with such other Romish ware, &c. Vol. 1. pag. 112. And Adrian, the chief of those Monks, was sent (as Bede observes) not only to assist Theodore, but to have an Eye also over him, that he introduced nothing after the Greek manner into the Church contrary to the Truth of the Faith received then from Rome. Not long after, in the time of this Theodore, came over from Rome John the Arch-Chanter or chief Singer, sent hither by Pope Agatho, to teach them how to sing here after the same manner as they sang in St. Peter's (as they called it) at Rome: besides which, he had particular instructions from the Pope, to inform himself fully of the Faith of the English Church, and at his return to Rome to give the Pope an account thereof. Great care we see was taken by the Popes to frame the Church of England by the Romish square; and that the English-Saxons did imitate the Church of Rome, Bede shews, when he sayes, that 'Naitan King of the Picts having a desire to reform the Church in his own Dominion, that he might do it the more easily and with greater Authority, sought the assistance of the English Nation, who he

'knew long before had ordered their Religion according to the example of the Holy and Apostolick Church of *Rome*; which was then had in so great veneration with the *Saxons*, that many of the Kings of this Island laid down their Scepters, and went in devotion to *Rome*, desiring to sojourn a while as Pilgrims on Earth, as near the Holy places as they could, that they might afterward be received the more familiarly in Heaven by the Saints: And this l. 3. c. 7. says, Bede was so customary in those times, that many of the English Nation, both Noble and Ignoble, Laity and Clergy, Men and Women seemed to strive who should get thither first. And that it was thus in *Ethelwolf's* time, may appear by his going in great devotion (as *Speed* saith) to *Rome*, and there committing his youngest Son *Alfred* to the Popes bringing up (as *Fox Records*) together with his liberal presents made to that Church. Thus seest thou Reader how devout the *Saxons* were to the Church of *Rome*, and how solicitous and careful that their own Church might follow its example. If thou wouldst further know what the Church of *Rome* then was, which was cried up for the Mother Church she was full of Superstition, Idolatry, Blasphemy; She was a worshipper of Images, of Saints, and of Relicks; she prayed to Saints as Intercessors and Mediators between God and Man; She prayed and sacrificed for the Dead; She held the Doctrines of Purgatory, Indulgences, Merits, Ear-Confession, Pilgrimages, and single Life of Priests. To mention all her Corruptions and Superstitions were to write a Volume. Then for the Popes themselves, fit Heads enough they were for such a Body. Their own Writers are not able to cover the infamy of their Lives. The

Author

Author of *Fascicul. Temp.* confesses *Constantine* the second (whom he makes to have sat, *Anno. 764.*) to have been the *fifth infamous Pope*, and *Pope Jone* he reckons for the sixth, who, so far as I can gather, possess the *Roman Chair* within a Year or two after *Ethelwolf* was there, to the irreparable infamy of the *Roman Church*. And for the other Popes who sat in the latter end of that Century in which *Pope Jone* fell, and in the beginning of the next, nothing but what is scandalous can be said of them, as *Fascic. Temp.* confesses. If we seek a Character of those times, not only *Fox* in his Acts of the Church, dividing the time from *Christ's* Incarnation into divers Periods or Ages, reckons the third Period of time from about 600. to about the Year 900. (which comprehends most of the *Saxons* Reign, and the earliest Tythe Donation) the declining time of the Church and of true Religion. But even *Platina* in *vita Steph. 3.* (well nigh a Hundred Years before *Ethelwolf's* Donation) laments the Wickedness of the times, in these words, '*Nunc vero adeo refrixit pietas et religio, non dico nudis pedibus, &c.* i. e. But now Devotion and Religion is grown so cold, that Men can scarce find in their Hearts to Pray, I do not say bare-Footed, but even with their Hose and Shoes on. They do not now Weep as they go, or while they are Sacrificing, as did the holy Fathers of Old, but they Laugh, and that impudently. I speak even of those of the Purple Robe; they do not sing the Hymns, for that they account Servile; but they entertain one another with Jest and Stories to stir up Laughter. In a word, the more prone any one is to Jest and Wantonness, the greater praise he hath in such corrupt manners.

' This Clergy of ours dreads and shuns the company
 ' of severe and grave Men. Why so? Because they
 ' had rather live in so great Licentiousness, then be sub-
 ' ject to one that counsels or governs well; and by
 ' that means the *Christian* Religion grows every day
 ' worse and worse. Thus *Platina* of the times be-
 ' fore *Ethelwolf*. And of the times a little after, ano-
 ' ther *Popish* Writer cries out, ' *Heu, heu, heu, Domi-*
 ' *ne Deus, &c.* i. e. Alas, alas, alas! O Lord God, how
 ' is the Gold darkned, how is the best Colour chan-
 ' ged! What Scandals do we read to have happened
 ' about these times even in the holy Apostolick seat!
 ' — What Contentions, Emulations, Sects, En-
 ' vyings, Ambitions, Intrusions, Persecutions! O
 ' worst of times! in which Holiness fails, and Truth
 ' is cut of from the Sons off men, *Fascic. Temp. ad*
an. 884.

Thus hast thou Reader, a short view off *those*
times, those Popes, those Churches: by which thou
 mayst perceive both the *degeneration* and *Apostacy*
 of the *Roman* Church from the *Simplicity* and *Purity*
 of the Gospel; as also the *dependance* of the *Saxon*
 Church upon the Church of *Rome*, its continual re-
 course and application to her, as to its *Mother* and
Nurse, from whose *Breasts* it sucked that *corrupt*
Milk, which filled it with *putrefaction* and *unsound-*
ness ever after. And very little (if any whit at all)
 did the *Saxon* Church differ from the Church of *Rome*,
 but as *Superstitions* and *Idolatries* encreased in the
 Church of *Rome*, so they were brought over hither
 and received here, as fast as the distance of place
 would well permit. Judge then whether the *Saxon*
 Church be not rightly called *Popish*, whether *Ethel-*
wolf, who gave Tythes was not a *Papist*, whether
 the

the *Clergy* to which he gave them was not *Popish*, whether the *Religion* which Tythes were given to uphold was not the *Popish Religion*, and whether it becomes a *Protestant Ministry*, who are so denominated from *protesting* against *Papery*, to receive and exact that Maintenance which was given by a *Popish Prince* to *Popish Priests* to uphold *Papery*.

§. 24. In his next Section the Priest urges that Tythes were not *Popish*, because received by some of the *Martyrs*, pag. 136.

This being offered by the former Priest, I had answered in my former Book, and therein shewed by plain demonstration the emptiness of that Argument, which because this Priest has but superficially toucht, and not endeavoured by any sound Reason to refute, I think meet to transcribe hither. 'That these were 'godly men, and worthy Martyrs I grant: yet will 'not their receiving Tythes make them either lawful, 'or less Popish, in the Institution. The lot of those 'good Men fell in the very spring and dawning (as it 'were) of the day of Reformation, and it was their 'happiness and honour that they were faithful (even 'to the Death) to those discoveries of Truth which 'they received. But all Truths were not discovered 'at once, nor all Untruths neither. But it being a 'day of the Infancy of Reformation, it pleased God 'in his infinite wisdom and tenderness, to rend the Vail 'as it were by little and little, and so discover things 'gradually unto them, that they might go cheerfully 'on in their Testimony, and not come under those 'discouragements, which the sight of so many difficulties at once, might not improbably have brought 'upon them. Nor will this seem strange to any 'who

' who shall seriously consider, that many of the blef-
 ' sed Martyrs, who sealed their *Testimony* with their
 ' Blood, and entred cheerfully the *fiery Chariot*, had
 ' not so full and clear a sight of *All the Superstitions*
 ' and *Abominations*, which in the dark Night of Ig-
 ' norance had crept into the Church of *Rome*, as it
 ' hath pleased God *since* to give. Yet they being
 ' faithful to the Lord in what they did see, were ac-
 ' cepted by him, and *through Death received a Crown*
 ' of *Life*.

' Neither is it a *fair way* of Reasoning, because
 ' some who lived but at the *Day-break* (as it were)
 ' of Reformation, did not, at that *early Hour*, dis-
 ' cover the *whole* Mystery of Iniquity (although
 ' they did a *great part*) or bore Testimony against e-
 ' very particular Evil in the Church of *Rome* (although
 ' they did against a great many) thence to argue, that
 ' the Mystery of Iniquity extended no further then
 ' was discovered unto them, or that there was *no o-*
 ' *ther* Evil in the Church of *Rome*, but what they
 ' testified against, especially since we find divers things
 ' which they took little or no notice of, *plainly con-*
 ' *demned*, and zealously witnessed against by others,
 ' who are acknowledged to have been in their respec-
 ' tive times, *Confessors* of and true *Witnesses* for God
 ' against the *Corruptions* and *Superstitions* of the *Ro-*
 ' *mish* Church, as well as they; so that what my Op-
 ' ponent saith in another case (pag 114.) *You must*
 ' *not Interpret one Scripture to overthrow other plain*
 ' *Scriptures*: The same say I in this, He ought not
 ' to instance these Men: receiving Tythes to *over-*
 ' *throw* or *contradict* the plain Testimonies of other
 ' faithful Servants of God, who denyed them, but
 ' rather as in the beginning of *Christianity*, the Apo-
 ' stles

'stles did not all alike oppose the Ce-
 'remonies of the Law, but Circum-
 'cision and other Rites were born
 'with, and for some time used by
 'some of them, which in process of time were utterly
 'rejected and denied by all, which yet neither ought
 'to have been, nor was made use of by the rest of the
 'Apostles or Churches, as an Argument for the
 'lawfulness and continuation of Circumcision, or any
 'other of the *Jewish Rites*: So in the Testimonies of
 'those holy Martyrs and Confessors of Jesus, what
 'was denied by some, and witnessed against as *Popish*,
 '*superstitious* and *wicked*, ought not to be recei-
 'ved, and defended now as *not Popish* or *Superstitious*
 '(at least by such as pretend to reverence their Testi-
 'monies) because the same things were not denied
 'by all; for God is not limitable to *numbers* of Wit-
 'nesses, but he raised up *one* to bear Testimony a-
 'gainst *one* Corruption, *another* against *another* Su-
 'perstition; some stormed *one part* of *Babylon*, some
 '*another*, but did not make their Batteries *all in one*
 'place. Now that *Tithes* were denied by *many* of
 'those Godly Men, *Fox's* Martyrology assures us
 'in the instances of *Thorp*, *Swinderby*, *Brute*, *Wick-*
 '*liffe*, &c. some of whom complained of the *abuse*
 'of *Tithes*, in that they were then *fixt* and *settled* as
 'a *payment*, whenas but a little before they were a
 'voluntary free Gift, disposable at the will and plea-
 'sure of the giver: Others utterly denying and re-
 'jecting them, as *no way lawful* at all. Nay, *Thorp*
 'saith expressly, That *those Priests that do take Tithes*,
 'deny *Christ to be come in the Flesh*, urging it as the
 'Opinion of one of the Doctors, and as he thinks of
 '*Jerome*. And *Brute* saith, not only that *no Man*

Acts 16. 3. &
 18. 18. and
 21. 26.

' is bound to pay Tythes in Gospel-timer, but that it is
 ' manifest and plain, that neither by the Law of Moses
 ' nor by Christ's Law, Christian People are bound to
 ' pay Tythes, but by the Traditions of men. Hence
 ' what Opinion these good men had of Tythes, the
 ' Reader may judge. But for any now to urge,
 ' in defence and justification of Tythes, that
 ' Crammer, Hooper, Ridley, and other Godly
 ' Martyrs received them, what else is this, but
 ' to oppose the Martyrs one to another, and render
 ' them as *clashing and warring* amongst themselves,
 ' yea, and to endeavour, by the practices of some,
 ' to invalidate and make the Testimony of others
 ' utterly void and of no force, which I am sure does
 ' ill become any Protestant to do; and indeed I think
 ' none, that were truly such, would ever have at-
 ' tempted it. This was my Answer to the former
 Priest, which this latter Priest hath not by any solid
 Arguments attempted to refute, but catching here
 and there at a word, he quibbles on it to shew his
 Wit and levity, and besides that doth little else but
 revile me, and vilifie them whose Testimonies I used
 against Tythes. First he Cares at those words [*all
 Truths were not discovered at once, nor all Untruths
 neither.*] Upon this he says, pag. 136. *It is strange
 the Quaker should say so, who before declared himself to
 be for immediate teaching, and who, pag. 229. affirms,
 The very Babies in Christ knew all things.* In the first
 part of this Quirk, he only playes upon the word
 [Immediate] which (being opposed to mediate
 teaching, as mediate signifies means and helps) is un-
 derstood of the inward teaching or speaking of the
 holy Spirit in the Heart of man, without the help or
 use of outward means: and so is called immediate in
 respect

respect of *manner*, not in respect of *time*. But he, that he might seem to say something, applies the word [*Immediate*] to *time*, making *immediate teaching* to sound, not a teaching *without means* and outward helps, but a teaching *in an instant*, or *on a sudden*. But if he please to be *less disingenuous*, and remove his own mistake, he will find no incongruity in my words. In the other part, he does not so much Carp at me, as Cavil at the Apostle *John*, whose the words are, 1 *Joh.* 2. 18, 20. But if in the fore-going passage he dealt *not fairly* with me; in the following he deals *most foully*: for he affirms that I say, pag. 230. *If the Saints have not the Spirit in them, so as to teach them all things, they have not the Spirit at all.* These are not my words (as he that will consult the place, may see) but an inference of his own, made on purpose to abuse me. And the other Priest (in his *Indication*, pag. 284.) though he nibbles at the same passage, yet neither doth he quote it as this Priest doth, nor charge me with affirming, that If the Saints have not the Spirit in them, so as to teach them all things, they have not the Spirit at all: But sayes, The *Quaker* seems to fancy, that if the Spirit be not with Believers in this immediate manner, his is not with them at all. Observe now Reader, how I am dealt with between these two Priests. One of them sayes positively, that I affirm: The other sayes, The *Quaker* seems to fancy. The one sayes I affirm, *if the Saints have not the Spirit in them, so as to teach them all things, they have not the Spirit at all.* The other sayes, The *Quaker* seems to fancy, that *if the Spirit be not with believers in this immediate manner, he is not with them at all.* And yet these Priests both one and t'other pretend to repeat the *self-same* sentence out

of my Book, and that in *my own words*. Is this fair dealing? Yet upon this and his former mistake of *immediate teaching*, he sayes, pag. 137. *All that T.E. allows for Saints, got their knowledge in an Instant, as the Apostles did.*

This also I reject for a *slander*: Nor do I believe that the *Apostles got their knowledge*, as he says, *in an instant*. But that they grew in *Grace* (by the *Grace*) in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as the Apostle Peter exhorted the Saints, 2 Pet. 4. 18. and as Paul did the Colossians, chap. 1. ver. 10. But from these *false Premises* he draws this lame Conclusion, *Either therefore he must deny these Holy men were taught immediately (and then by his Rule they could have no knowledge in divine things) or else he must confess Truths were not revealed to them by degrees.*

But there is no necessity for this. For I will suppose those Holy men were taught *immediately* in respect of the *manner of teaching*, not in respect of *time*. They might be taught by the Spirit of God in their own Hearts, *without the help of outward means*, and yet those Truths which they were thus taught might be revealed to them *by degrees*. The Wind that bloweth *where it listeth*, bloweth also *when it listeth*: and he that turns the *Key of David*, opens and shuts at his own pleasure.

Upon my saying, *Those good men & Godly Martyrs lived at the very dawning of the Day of Reformation*, He thus sports himself. *Very pleasant!* sayes he, *Let us then ask the Quaker what Hour of the Morning it was when his other Martyrs (as he falsely calls them) Thorp, Swinderby, Brute and Wickliffe lived? If*

it was but Day-break in Cranmer's time, it was dark as mid-night in Wickliffe's; if Cranmer and Bradford had but little Light, Wickliffe and Thorp had none at all; and therefore unless they had Cats Eyes they could not see then, pag. 138.

Surely his *flouting humour* was up when he writ this, and he was resolv'd to indulge his Genius, whomsoever he spatter'd. But letting his *unhandsome* expression pass, which is *obvious* enough to every Reader that has not *Cats Eyes*, I reply to his question that what ever Hour Thorp, Swinderby, Brute and Wickliffe lived in, or how dark soever it then was, they had light enough given them to discover that *Tythes* were but an *human Institution*, & ought not to be paid. And though they lived before Cranmer, in times of greater Darkneß, and not see so many of the Corruptions of the Church of Rome as Cranmer and his Associates did, yet they saw some, and what they did see was as really a Corruption, and their Testimonies against it ought as well to be received, as the Testimonies of those other Martyrs, against other Corruptions afterwards. Nor ought those earlier Testimonies to be weakned (much less rejected) by the example or practice of later Martyrs, since both the former and later are, by the same Historian, recorded to be good and godly men, stout Champions and valiant Souldiers for the Truth of Jesus Christ, all bearing Testimony against the Corruptions and Superstitions of the Church of Rome, though not all against the self-same particular Corruption. For Wickliffe inveighed against the *Pride, Pomp, Luxury* and *temporal Possessions* of the Clergy; Brute denied all *Swearing*; and Thorp denied to Swear upon the Bible; the evil of which was not seen by many of the Mar-

yrs that came after. And even among those of
 greatest note, and eminency in point of Learning,
 who were not only contemporaries, but Co-sufferers
 (as I may say) with respect both to cause and time,
 there was not in all things an equal discovery, and
 sight of Corruptions and Romish Superstitions. For
 Hooper being elected Bishop of Gloucester, in King
 Edward the sixth dayes, when Cranmer himself was
 Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, refused to be consecrated
 in the Episcopal vestiments or habit, and to take the
 Oath used in the Consecration of Bishops, both which he
 complained were against his Conscience, and there-
 fore petitioned the King either to discharge him of
 his Bishoprick, or to dispence with him in those things
 which were offensive and burdensome to his Conscience.
 And although he thereupon obtained Letters from
 the King and the Earl of Warwick to the Arch-Bishop
 in his behalf, yet so little did Cranmer and the other
 Bishops discern the Superstition and Evil of those
 things, that as Fox observes, they stood earnestly
 in defence of the aforesaid Ceremonies, saying, *It was
 but a small matter; that the fault was in the abuse of
 the things, not in the things themselves; that he ought
 not to be so stubborn in so light a matter; and that his
 wilfulness therein was not to be suffered.* Nor would they
 yield to his consecration but upon condition, that
 sometimes he should in his Sermon shew himself Ap-
 parrelled as the other Bishops were, which Fox in
 plain terms calls a *Popish attire*, and sayes, that
 'Notwithstanding that godly Reformation of Reli-
 'gion that began in the Church of England, besides
 'other Ceremonies more ambitious then profitable,
 'or tending to Edification, they used to wear such
 'Garments and Apparel as the Popish Bishops were
 'wont

'wont to do, which (he sayes) tended more to Su-
 'perstition then otherwise; and (sayes he) when
 'Hooper was appointed to Preach before the King,
 'he came forth as a new Playes in a strange Apparel
 'on the Stage, having for his upper Garment a long
 'Scarlet Chymere down to the Feet, and under that a
 'white Linnen Rochet that covered all his Shoulders;
 'upon his Head he had a Geometrial, that is, a four-
 'squared Cap, albeit that his Head was round. What
 'cause of Shame (says Fox) the strangeness hereof
 'was that day to that good Preacher, every man may
 'easily judge, *Martyr. Vol. 2. pag. 1366.* Thus
 seest thou Reader that what Hooper Conscientiously
 scrupled and refused, as an offence and burden to his
 Conscience, and what Fox who wrote the Story af-
 firms to be Popish and Superstitious, Cranmer and o-
 ther of his Associate Bishops saw no Evil in; which
 I mention not with any design to detract the fame of
 those worthy men, (whose honour and true excellen-
 cy stood not so much in *knowing much* (though *much*
 they knew) as in being *faithful* to what they knew)
 nor to intimate any discordance among them (who I
 make no doubt agreed full well in a good resolution
 to oppose all Popish Errors, so far as they had a *clear*
discerning of them; which Apology, to men of
 candor needless, I am in some sort constrained here
 to make, to obviate, and if it may be to prevent the
 unjust Cavillations of my very disingenuous and
 captious Adversaries.) But I therefore instance this
 case of Bishop Hooper, to manifest, that amongst
 such as to be sure were no Renegadoes, but real
 Martyrs, all the Superstitions and Corruptions of the
 Roman Church were not equally discovered to all; but
 that *some saw that to be Popish, and rejected it, which*
others

others, not seeing to be so, *continued in*: but their continuing in it makes not the thing it self *less evil*, or the Testimony of others who have seen and decry'd it, *less considerable* with those who look through the Eye of Reason, not of interest; the like is to be said in the case of Tythes. If *some* of the Martyrs did not see Tythes to be of *Popish* Institution, and therefore did continue the use of them; that practice of theirs doth no more prove that Tythes are not of *Popish* Institution, then their using and wearing the pontifical Garments, doth prove those Garments were not of *Popish* Institution, which Bishop Hooper denied as *Popish*.

S. 25. The Author of the *Friendly Conference*, in his Vindication, pag. 306. says, *The Quaker should have told us what those many things are, which were allowed by them* (Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, &c.) *and since plainly condemned by others.*

I confess I did not think it needful, in a thing so obvious, to have instanced particulars; but since it seems he expected it, he may take if he please the fore-mentioned for some. But withal I would have him know I take notice how unfairly he deals with me, altering my words that he may make an occasion to abuse me. For whereas I said, pag. 307. *We find divers things which they took little or no notice of, plainly condemned, and zealously witnessed against by others*: He pretending to repeat my words, says, *The Quaker should have told us what those MANY things are, which are allowed by them, and SINCE plainly condemned by others.* Where besides the manifest alteration of my words, he thrust in the word [*since*] only that he might have a Stone to throw at me; for there upon

thereupon he sayes, *I suppose by these [others] he means such as himself, or such factions and schismatical Spirits.*

Whereas my words in the place fore-cited do evidently refer to former times: for after I had said, *We find divers things which they took little or no notice of, plainly condemned, and zealously Witnessed against by others,* I immediately added, *Who are acknowledged to HAVE BEEN in their respective times, Confessors of and true Witnesses for God against the Corruptions and Superstitions of the Romish Church, as well as they,* How is it possible this man could thus have abused me, if he had not designedly set himself to it, Yet this is the man that in his Epistle complains of my dishonesty in mis-stating his Book.

But he will not allow Wickliff, Swinderby, Brute and Thorp the Name of Martyrs, but sayes, pag. 309. of his Vindication, *Never a man of these was a Martyr.* But why? Because a Martyr is one that seals his Testimony of the Truth with his Blood; and Wickliffe not being burned till Forty One Years after his Death, what Blood I pray (sayes he) was left in Wickliffe's Bones, after they had been Buried Forty One Years? The others he also denies to have been Martyrs, because (as he sayes) their Ends were uncertain, pag. 308.

The word Martyr properly signifies a Witness, and is applicable to them who make confession of the Truth, and bear witness to it, but more especially (and *per excellentiam*) to them that suffer for the Truth. And though it is commonly understood of them that suffer unto death, yet inasmuch as many Sufferings which extend not unto Death, are as grievous and cruel as death is self, I see no reason why

why such as faithfully and constantly undergo such sufferings, not baulking their Testimony for fear of Death, should be *deprived of their Palms*, and excluded from the Catalogue of Martyrs, who it may be were as fully resigned to Death, and could as willingly and chearfully have undergone it (if it had been inflicted) as they did those other hardships they endured, or as others, who actually suffered Death. However, since no man ought to execute himself, they who *boldly confess the Truth*, and *faithfully bore witness to it*, *patiently suffering whatsoever was laid upon them for the sake thereof*; whether he will allow them to be called Martyrs or not, *their Testimony*, I hope, *ought not to be rejected* nor themselves *despised, reproached and villified*, as we shall see anon they are. As for *Wickliffe*, Fox calls him *a valiant Champion*; and though he died quietly at *Lutterworth in Leicestershire*, yet great and grievous troubles underwent he, as Fox in his Story reports, and as *Cambden* in his *Brittania* intimates, pag. 518. *Swinderby* the Priest denies to be a Martyr, because Fox sayes, *Whether he dyed in Prison, or whether he escaped their Hands, or was burned, there is no certain relation made*. But he conceals, that Fox in the same place adds, that a Law being made, in the beginning of the Reign of *Hen. 4.* *against the favourers of Wickliffe*, under the Name of *Lollards*, *certain Priest was thereupon Burnt in Smithfield, who by divers conjectures appears to him to be this Swinderby*, *Martyrol.* pag. 418. who was before condemned by the Bishop of *Hereford*, pag. 436. *Brute* is by the Priest denied to be a Martyr, because Fox sayes, *What and he had I find not Registered*. But Fox shews that although at that time when he appeared before the
Bishop

Bishop of Hereford it is likely he escaped, yet a Year or two after by the instigation of the Bishops, the King issued forth his Commission with great sharpness and severity against the said Brute and his Abbet-tors, which argues that the said Walter Brute did persist in his Testimony against the Church of Rome. Thorp he will not admit be to a Martyr, because Fox sayes, his end was uncertain: But Fox leaves not the matter so. For he sayes, 'By all conjectures it is to be thought; that the Arch-Bishop Tho. Arundel being so hard an Adversary against those men, would not let him go. Much less is it to be supposed, that he would ever retract his Sentence and Opinion, which he so valiantly maintained before the Bishop; neither doth it seem that he had any such recanting Spirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned: Wherefore (sayes Fox) it remaineth most like to be true, that he being committed to some strait Prison (according as the Arch-Bishop in his Examination before did threaten him) there (as Thorp confesseth himself) was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly made away, or else there he dyed by Sicknes; as he instances in John Ashton another of Wickliff's Followers, who was so served, Martyrol. pag. 500. Now though the manner of these mens deaths cannot be certainly known, yet certain it is that they were devout and godly men, and zealous against the Romish Errors so far as they discerned them. And if we may take his character of them, who writ their Story, he calls Swinderby a worthy Priest, and true Servants of Christ, Martyrol. pag. 437. Of Brute he sayes, that 'In the tractation of his discourse may appear the mighty operation of God's Spirit in him, his ripe know-

Sf

ledge,

ledge, modest simplicity, his valiant constancy, his learned tractations, and manifold conflicts sustained against God's Enemies, pag. 438. Thorpe he calls a good Man and blessed Servant of God, pag. 500. A Warriour valiant under the triumphant Banner of Christ, pag. 485. And tells his Reader, He shall behold in this Man the marvelous force and strength of the Lord's Might, Spirit and Grace, working and fighting in his Souldiers, and also speaking in their Mouthes, according to the word of his promise, Luk. 21. *ibid.* In all which, either Fox was much mistaken in the men, or this Priest in his Right of Tythes has most exceedingly injured them: For he renders them Apostates, calls them Renegadoes, scoffs at their knowledge, and sayes, Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, &c. are much disgraced by the parallel, pag. 139, 140. Surely if the men (the times wherein they lived considered) were guilty of some weakneses or infirmities, it had much better become this pretended Protestant, to have mentioned them at least with common civility, had it been but for the Cause sake in which they were engaged, then thus to fall on them in reviling Language, and defame them for Apostates and Renegado's. In which he seems rather to exceed then imitate the foolish out-rage of the Papists against Wickliffe: for they burnt the Bones of Wickliffe only Forty One Years after he was dead; but this Priest seeks to distain and blemish the Name, the Memory, and the Testimonies of these four men together, which have flourished well nigh three Hundred Years: And so angry is he at them, that I speed the worse at his hands for having mentioned them. For forgetting in his heat that he said at the beginning he would not meddle with scurrility, he here falls down-
right

right upon me, and sayes, I am a manifest Lye-
 giving such Renegadoes the name of Martyrs; which
 Language as it credits not him that gave it (without
 any provocation that I know of from me) so it hurts
 not me to whom it is given; nor would I have taken
 notice of it at all, but to manifest the temper of my
 Adversary, and the liberty of nameless Writers. But
 he fathers one part of his calumny upon Fox, and
 sayes, *Most of these Opposers of Tythes recanted open-
 ly, and proved Apostates, as Mr. Fox himself confesseth.*
 But in this he does Fox wrong: For, first, he no
 where calls them *Apostates*, nor is it likely he thought
 them so by the character he gave of them. Neither
 secondly, doth he confess that *most of them recanted
 openly*; for of Wickliffe and Thorpe mentions no such
 thing at all. And what he speaks of Swinderby, it
 was not so properly (if well considered) a *Recanta-
 tion* of what he held, as a *Denyal* of Articles laid to
 his charge in such terms as he did not hold them;
 which afterward himself explained and maintained.
 As for Brute, Fox doth not tax him with retracting
 any thing at all; but only shews that he submitted
 himself principally to the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and
 to the determination of Holy Kirk, and to the general
 Councils of Holy Kirk; and to the sentence and deter-
 mination of the four Doctors of holy writ, that is, Au-
 gustine, Ambrose, Jerom and Gregory, and to the
 correction of the Bishop of Hereford, pag. 461. And
 surely the character which Fox gives of Brute, and of
 the mighty operation of God's Spirit in him, doth not
 imply he thought Brute either an *Apostate*, or *Re-
 negado*. But suppose it had been so, as he opprobriously
 objects, that most of these Opposers of Tythes had
 recanted their Opinions; yet if afterwards they re-